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ERICHTHONIUS



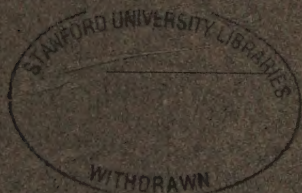
AND

THE THREE DAUGHTERS OF CECROPS

BY

BENJAMIN POWELL, A.B., A.M.

A Thesis presented to the University Faculty of Cornell University
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, June, 1904.



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EDITORS' PREFACE.

The premature death of Benjamin Powell in June, 1905, several days before the Commencement at which he would have received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Cornell University, made it impossible for him to superintend the publication of his Doctor's Thesis. The task, therefore, of reading and correcting the proof has devolved entirely on the Editors of the Cornell Studies.

They have been greatly aided in this task by Dr. L. L. Forman, of Cornell University. It is hoped that the result is such as would meet with the approval of Dr. Powell.

PREFACE.

In this treatment of Erichthonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops but little is required by way of introduction. I think the body of the work may speak for itself. Even a short sketch of the work done by me in the study of religion, myth, and ritual would be of little practical value to my readers. My plan has been to study the sources for this particular myth as fully as possible, and to adapt to my use the information thus gained from the classical writers. It seemed to me wise to treat the subject broadly, rather than to hew to one hard and fast line and try to make everything conform to a preconceived view. So many changes and influences come into the history of a myth that a great deal of allowance has to be made for peculiar features which do not belong to it originally.

I have tried to arrive at the truth and to present it, although at one time I may adopt a suggestion from one author and at another time discover the truth in an author whose ideas are opposed to those of the first. However for a complete survey, one must take many points into consideration, the etymology of names, whether the divine personage in question was a personification of some natural phenomenon, or a beast, bird, reptile or insect, a totem, a spirit of the crops, or an historical personage. This I have endeavored to do and my results are hereinafter set down. The writers whose works are used in my text are carefully credited with each reference. The work of Miss J. E. Harrison, who has discussed this myth more than any other writer, has been especially helpful. The literary sources are put in a body at the end.

The myth, which must be one of the most ancient at Athens, was not written down until somewhat late in her history, so that the classical evidence, although appearing somewhat bulky, is not always satisfactory and is often but a repetition of some previous account. I have begun the discussion with the different classical accounts of the myth and have then passed on to an attempted explanation of its meaning and that of the ritual connected with it. As will be seen, anthropology has entered largely into the discussion throughout.

ERICHTHONIUS AND THE THREE DAUGHTERS OF CECROPS.

Antigonus Carystius (*Historiae Mirabiles*, xii)¹ quotes Amelesagoras, the Athenian, who is telling the reason why no crow flies over the Acropolis, and why no one could say that he had ever seen one. He gives a mythological cause. "The goddess Athena was given as a wife to Hephaestus, but when she had lain down with him, she disappeared and Hephaestus, falling to the ground, spent his seed. The earth afterwards gave birth to Erichthonius, whom Athena nourished and shut up in a chest. This chest she gave into the keeping of the daughters of Cecrops, Agraulus, Pandrosus and Herse and enjoined upon them not to open the chest until she returned. She then went away to Pellene^a to bring a mass of rock, that she might fortify the Acropolis. Two of the daughters of Cecrops, Agraulus and Pandrosus, opened the chest and saw two serpents coiled about Erichthonius. It is said that a crow met Athena as she was returning with her load and told her that Erichthonius was exposed. When the goddess heard this, she threw down the mass of rock, which is now Mount Lycabettus, and hurried to the Acropolis. On account of this evil message, she told the crow that it would be unlawful for it to approach the Acropolis."

Euripides in the *Ion* (1. 23)² refers to the story and writes that Athena placed two serpents as guards over Erichthonius. She then gave him to the Aglauridian maidens (*παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι*) to keep. Again in the *Ion* (1. 272 ff.)³, he refers to the fate of the maidens. They broke the command of the goddess and at their death stained the rocks with blood (*i. e.*, threw themselves over the edge of the Acropolis).

^a Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 498. N.) thinks this was the Thracian Pallene.

Apollodorus tells the story in detail (iii, 14, 6)⁴: "Some say that Erichthonius was the son of Hephaestus and Atthis, the daughter of Cranaus, but others say of Hephaestus and Athena, as follows: Athena visited Hephaestus to see about the preparation of her armor. He, being deserted by Aphrodite, was overcome with desire of Athena and tried to assault her, but she, being a virgin, did not permit it. He spent his seed on the thigh of the goddess and she, having wiped it off with a piece of wool, threw it on the ground, whence Erichthonius was born. Athena brought up Erichthonius without the knowledge of the other gods, wishing to make him immortal. She put him in a chest and gave it to Pandrosus, the daughter of Cecrops, telling her not to open it. The sisters of Pandrosus, however, opened it through curiosity and saw the infant enfolded by a snake. Some say they were caught by the snake, and some say they went mad on account of the rage of Athena, and threw themselves down from the Acropolis. Erichthonius was brought up in the sanctuary of the goddess and afterwards dethroned Amphictyon, and ruled as king at Athens. On the Acropolis he set up a wooden image of Athena; he instituted the festival of the Panathenaea and married the nymph Praxithea; by her he had a son Pandion."

The scholiast on the Iliad, B 547⁵, tells this story, in part word for word as Apollodorus does; he derives the name of Erichthonius from *ἐριον*, the wool used by Athena, and from *χθών*, the earth from which the child was born.

Ovid refers to the myth (*Metamorphoses*, ii, 552 fl.)⁶ and speaks of Erichthonius as created without a mother. He was shut up in a chest and this was given to the three maidens to keep unopened. Pandrosus and Herse obeyed, but Aglaurus opened the box and saw the child and snake inside. Again in the second book of the *Metamorphoses* (l. 749)⁷, Ovid says that Aglaurus disclosed the secret.

Hyginus in his *Fabulae* (166)⁸ tells the story, saying that Vulcan had made golden chairs of adamant^a for Jupiter and

^a Solia aurea ex adamante.

the other gods. When Juno sat down, she was unable to rise. Vulcan was sent for to loose his mother, but he denied that he had any mother, being angry because he had been thrown out of heaven. Bacchus, however, made him drunk and brought him into the council of the gods, where he loosed Juno and was given by Jupiter the right to ask for whatever he wished as a reward. Neptune was angry at Minerva and incited Vulcan to demand her in marriage. Vulcan did so and his request was granted, but Minerva repulsed the god and Erichthonius was born from the earth in accordance with the usual story. He was of the form of a serpent in the lower part of his body. His name came from *ἔρις*, "strife", and *χθών*, "earth". Minerva nurtured him secretly and gave him in a chest to Aglaurus, Pandrosus, and Herse, so that they might guard him. When the maidens opened the chest, a crow made it known to Minerva, and the maidens, seized with madness, threw themselves into the sea.

In his *Astronomica* (ii, 13)⁹, Hyginus^a tells the myth in connection with his account of the constellation, Heniochus, the Charioteer, or in Latin, Auriga. Hyginus says that Eratosthenes, the Alexandrian scientist, calls this constellation "Erichthonius", "because Jupiter, when he saw that Erichthonius was the first man to yoke horses four abreast admired his ingenuity, since he was doing just as Sol did, who first employed *quadrigae* among the gods. Besides *quadrigae*, Erichthonius introduced also sacrifices to Athena and built a temple on the Athenian acropolis."

In the story of Erichthonius' birth, Hyginus, quoting Euripides as an authority, merely notes that Vulcan was carried away by Minerva's beauty and asked for her favors. He was refused and then tried to assault her, with the before-mentioned result. Minerva covered the seed with dust and Erichthonius

^a Schanz declares that it can be proved that the *Fabulae* and the *Poetica Astronomica* were written by one and the same Hyginus (see his *Geschichte d. röm. Literatur*² in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, viii, 2, 331.) Some later authorities refer the *Fabulae* and *Astronomica* to different authors.

was born (Hyginus gives his etymology), concealed in the chest, and given to the daughters of Erechtheus (*sic*). "They, out of curiosity, opened the box and saw a snake, became mad, and threw themselves down from the citadel at Athens. The snake fled to the shield of Minerva and was brought up by her. Some say that Erichthonius had limbs like a snake. He, while a youth, instituted the Panathenaic games and he himself raced in the quadriga, for all of which he was placed among the stars."

Pausanias writes (i, 18, 2)¹⁰ that Athena put Erichthonius in a box and gave him to the three sisters, telling them not to pry into the box. Pandrosus obeyed, but the other two opened it, went mad and threw themselves down from the Acropolis where it was precipitous.

Tertullian in commenting on Vergil, writes (*De Spectaculis*, 9)¹¹ that Erichthonius, born of lust, was not a snake, but was the devil himself.

Philostratus (*Apoll. Epist. vii*, 24)¹² mentions the fact that Athena, the goddess of the Athenians, at one time gave birth to a serpent. He does not mention Erichthonius by name, nor the three sisters.

Lactantius tells the story (*Divin. Instit. i*, 17)¹³ just as Hyginus does in his *Fables*, with this variant only, which Apollodorus also implies, namely, that Vulcan made arms for the gods and so was granted a wish by Jupiter. Lactantius, continuing the story, writes that Minerva shut the child up in a box with a snake. He holds up the morals of the pagan divinities to ridicule and in his *Epitome* (9, 2)¹⁴ he again mentions Erichthonius as springing like a fungus out of the earth.

Probus, Servius, and Philargyrius, commenting on Vergil (*Georg. iii*, 113)¹⁵, write that Erichthonius was a child of Electra and Jupiter, but in their time that was not mentioned. He was said to be a son of Vulcan and the Earth. The story of Vulcan and Minerva is told and the etymology of Hyginus is given. Then Servius says, "moreover, he is said to be the first who employed *quadrigae*, so that he might the more properly conceal his snake-feet."

Augustine writes (*De civ. dei*, xviii, 12)¹⁶ that Erichthonius was the child of Vulcan and Minerva, but because the ancients wished Minerva to retain her virginity, the story of the struggle with Vulcan was told and the birth of Erichthonius was said to be from the earth, the name coming from "strife" and "earth". He furthermore adds that Vulcan and Minerva had a temple in common at Athens, where there was exposed to view a boy encircled by a snake. Since he was in this temple, common to Minerva and Vulcan (*Paus. i. 14, 6*)¹⁷, and since his parents were unknown, the child was said to be the son of these two divinities. Augustine concludes, "the former myth tells the origin of his name better than this latter account."

Lactantius Placidus, the scholiast, in his *Nar. Fab.* (ii, 12)¹⁸ records that at Athens the maidens carried color materials (*pigmenta*)^a in baskets in a sacred rite in honor of Minerva. Among these, distinguished by her striking appearance, Herse, the daughter of Cecrops, was seen by Mercury. Accordingly he approached her sister, Aglaurus, and begged her to bring him to Herse. But Aglaurus demanded gold for her service and Minerva was greatly offended at her avarice, on account of which she had also opened the little box entrusted to the care of her sisters and, moreover, had done this against the express command of the goddess. So Minerva, having tortured her, turned her into a rock. Placidus is evidently mixing narratives and is either writing from memory or from a distorted version of the original story of the chest and the fall from the rock of the Acropolis.

Fulgentius in his *Mythologiae* (ii, 14)¹⁹ says that Jupiter granted a wish to Vulcan in return for services rendered in making thunderbolts. He gives the account of the struggle with Minerva. Erichthonius was born and, with a snake as guardian, was put in a box and given to Aglaurus and Pandora (*sic*). Erichthonius first invented the chariot.

^a I have given reasons later why it seems better to emend this "*pigmenta*" to "*figmenta*."

The Scholia Bernensia on Vergil's *Georgics* (iii, 113)²⁰ record that Gaudentius said that the boy, conceived in lust, was born with lower limbs like a snake and that he employed a chariot in order to conceal the hideousness of his body.

The *Etymologicum Magnum* tells us that Erechtheus was also called Erichthonius (s. v. Ἐρεχθεύς)²¹. The story runs that Hephaestus was called in to assist Zeus at the birth of Athena, by splitting his head with an axe. Athena sprang forth and Hephaestus pursued her, but was repulsed by the goddess. The etymology of the snake-limbed Erichthonius is given as Apollodorus gives it, that is from ἔριον, the wool used by Athena in cleansing herself, and from χθών, earth.

The scholiast on Plato's *Timaeus* (426)²² and also the account given in the *Mythographi Graeci* (ed. Westermann, pp. 359-360)²³ follow the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Eudocia, the Byzantine writer, in her *Violarium*, gives the story in three different places, all of which agree in substance, namely, I^e (p. 7)²⁴ concerning Athena; CCCL, (p. 151)²⁵, where it is told of the birth of Erechtheus; and CCCLV, (p. 159)²⁶, where it is connected with Erichthonius as usual.

A summary shows the story as follows: Hephaestus, for some reason (as a reward from Zeus or simply carried away by her beauty), attempts a union with Athena, the maiden-goddess. In a struggle he is repulsed, loses his seed, and as a result, Erichthonius is born from the earth, without a mother. A variant story is indicated when Apollodorus (iii, 14, 16) records that he was said by some to be the son of Atthis, Cranaus' daughter^a, and of Hephaestus, and Servius recalls that he was once regarded as the son of Electra and Jupiter.

Erichthonius was in the shape of a man-child, according to Amelesagoras, Euripides, Apollodorus, Ovid, Pausanias, Lactantius, Augustine, and Fulgentius; but according to Hyginus, Servius, the Scholia Bernensia, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and

^a Miss Harrison (*Mythology and Monuments*, p. xxvi) makes the mistake of saying, "son of Atthis and Cranaus."

Eudocia, he was half man and half serpent. Philostratus and Tertullian seem to imply that he was all serpent.

Erichthonius is protected by Athena secretly, concealed in a box, and given into the charge of the three daughters of Cecrops, Aglaurus, Pandrosus, and Herse, who break their trust and open the box against the orders of Athena.

Euripides and Hyginus state that all the sisters were blameworthy. Amelesagoras, Fulgentius (?), and Athenagoras (Legat. pro Christ. i)²⁷ say that Aglaurus and Pandrosus were guilty; Apollodorus and Pausanias say Aglaurus and Herse, and Ovid says Aglaurus alone was guilty. Aglaurus is implicated in all cases and so may be regarded as the guilty one, while Pandrosus is innocent.

Amelesagoras and Euripides speak of two snakes, and a vase in the British Museum (Cat. E 418; Roscher, Lex., vol. i, p. 1307) shows two (see Fig. 8). Ovid, Apollodorus, Hyginus (Astr.) Lactantius, Augustine and Fulgentius, also a vase by Brygus (Robert, Bild und Lied, p. 88) know of only one snake (see Fig. 9).

Euripides, Apollodorus, Pausanias, and Hyginus say that the girls went mad and threw themselves from the Acropolis, but Apollodorus also gives another version, according to which they were said to have been killed by the snake.

Erichthonius grew up, became ruler of Athens, had a son Pandion, invented *quadrigae* (Vergil, Georg. iii, 113), instituted games in honor of Athena, and built a temple for her. He was finally placed among the stars as the constellation Auriga.

The history of the three sisters is short. It will be necessary to study briefly the history of each sister separately. The evidence may be found also in Roscher's Ausführliches Lexicon in the articles, Aglaurus by Roscher, Pandrosus by H. Lewy, and Herse by Seeliger. Aglaurus is treated by Toepffer also in the Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie.

Aglaurus, Pandrosus, and Herse were the daughters of Cecrops and Aglaurus. Cecrops was said to be an early king of Athens; he was an emigrant from Egypt or Phoenicia and his wife

Aglaurus was the daughter of Actaeus, first king of Athens. Besides the three daughters, they had one son, Erysichthon (Apollodorus iii, 14, 2⁴⁸; Pausanias i, 2, 6²⁹; Euripides, Ion 492)³⁰.

The daughter Aglaurus is called by Suidas (s. v. Φοινικ. γραμμ.)³¹ the daughter of Actaeon, as are also Pandrosus and Herse. In this account there is a probable confusion with the mother Aglaurus, who was the daughter of Actaeus. Aglaurus was beloved of Ares and had by him a daughter Alcippe; this daughter was violated by Halirrothius, the son of Poseidon, and, in consequence, he was killed by Ares. Aglaurus seems to have been blameworthy in opening the chest and was either killed by the snake or threw herself from the Acropolis.

According to the story told by Ovid (Metamorph. ii, 710-835)⁷, Hermes fell in love with Herse at the Panathenaic festival (according to Ptolemaeus in Schol. Il. A 334³² Pandrosus is the bride of Hermes), and asked Aglaurus to further his suit with her sister. Athena, however, remembering Aglaurus's former disobedience, filled her with envy of Herse and Aglaurus refused to permit Hermes to visit Herse; she was, in consequence, turned into a stone. Lactantius Placidus also refers to this version.

Pandrosus was the sister of Aglaurus and Herse, or, according to Scamon (Suidas, Φοινικ. γραμμ.)³¹, sister of Phoenice and daughter of Actaeon. Pandrosus, if we follow the common story, alone obeyed the command of Athena. She appears as the mother of Ceryx by Hermes (Pollux, viii, 103³³; Schol. Il. A 334³²; Schol. Aeschines, i, 20)³⁴; according to others Aglaurus was the mother of Ceryx (Pausanias, i, 38, 3)³⁵. This Ceryx was the tribe father of the family of the Ceryces in the Eleusinian service; by Hesychius³⁶, Suidas, and Harpocration (s. v. κήρυκες)³⁷ he is merely said to be the son of Hermes; no mother is mentioned.

Herse, the third sister, was the beloved of Hermes (Apollod., iii, 14, 3³⁸; Ovid ii, 710-835⁷; Lact. Plac., Fab., ii, 12)¹⁸, and by him she bore Cephalus. According to the Regilla inscription (C. I. G. 6280)³⁹, Ceryx was the son of Hermes and Herse.

Ceryx is thus seen to be assigned as a son to each of the three sisters in turn. This is to be explained (Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 83^a; Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* p. 52) by the fact that later, when Athens and Eleusis had formed a close political union, there came to be an identification or parallelization of the three daughters of Cecrops with the Charites or Horae, Auxo, Thallo, and Carpo, who were closely associated with Hermes at Eleusis (C. I. A. i, 5⁴⁰; also s. v. Aglaurus, Pauly-Wissowa). Other relationship with Attica is shown by the fact that Cephalus was said to be the son of Hermes and Herse, and the Cephalids of Thoricus were related to the Ceryces of Eleusis (Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 51).^b

This connection is mentioned later in the discussion of the origin of Herse and was noticed by C. Robert (*De Gratiis Atticis in Comment. Mommsen*, p. 143 ffl.).

These triads of Aglaurides and Charites or Horae are possibly related also to the four Ionian nymphs (Ἰωνίδες νύμφαι), mentioned by Pausanias (vi, 22, 7)⁴¹ and Strabo (viii, 356)⁴². Pausanias records that there was a sanctuary of these nymphs near a spring at Heraclea, a village not far from Olympia. Their names were Calliphaea, Synallaxis, Pegaea, and Iasis. Persons who bathed in this spring were cured of bodily pains. Pausanias adds that the nymphs were called Ionian from Ion of Gargettus, who emigrated hither from Athens. This then would establish a close relationship between the Aglaurid maidens of Euripides's Ion, who danced on the northern slope of the Acropolis, and the nymphs, the nurses of Epimenides Buzyges (Toepffer, *Att. Gen.*,

^a Toepffer, *Attische Geneal.*, p. 83, N. "Bedenkt man, wie nahe Chariten, Nymphen und Thauschwester einander stehen, so liegt die Vermuthung nahe, dass die Kekropstöchter in Athen an Stelle der in Eleusis mit Hermes verbundenen Chariten (C. I. A. i, 5) getreten sind. Daher ist man sich auch nicht klar, welche der Schwestern die Stammutter des Kerykenge-schlechtes ist."

^b 1. c.—"die genannten Keryken, bereits, wie später, in einem genealogischen Verhältnis zu den Kephaliden von Thorikos stehend, das deshalb im Hymnos (to Demeter) von allen attischen Orten allein genannt wird."

p. 144), of that same region, who are depicted in a dance with Pan on many reliefs found in his cave close to the north-west corner of the citadel (Furtwängler, *Athen. Mitth.*, iii, 200).

As has been set forth by Mr. Farnell^a, the rivalry of Poseidon and Athena in Attica for the possession of the land, and many similar theomachies contain an historical fact, an actual conflict of worships. Athena was the older divinity in Attica^b and, according to Mr. Farnell, Poseidon was the great god of the Ionians; the strife and reconciliation on the Acropolis being "the religious counterpart of the old Attic and Ionic elements of the population."

There is evidence to show that Poseidon was not an Aryan divinity originally. His name has been a stumbling block to the comparative philologists and to form an idea of the many etymologies it is only necessary to glance at the various conjectures given in the Pape-Benseler Wörterbuch under his name. Moreover, oftentimes Poseidon's material shape is not in keeping with the general anthropomorphic characteristics of the pantheon of Achæan divinities.

One of the latest etymologies to appear is that of Robert Brown^c; he gives the derivation of the name of Poseidon as follows: 'There was an Itanos in Crete; i-Tan is "the island of Tan." Tan on coins is a person with a fish-tail, carrying a trident like Neptune; the same figure is seen on the coins of Ashqelôn. From the two forms Itanos and Itônos, we get first Πόσις ^ἸItavos = Ποσειδάν, Ποσειδάν and then Πόσις ^Ἰτῶνος = Ποσειδῶν, *i. e.*, 'Lord of the isle of Tan' (Crete).

^a *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 270.

^b Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 303: "At first the maiden of the elder stratum, she has to contend for supremacy with a god of that stratum, Poseidon. Poseidon, the late Mr. R. A. Neil has shown (*The Knights of Aristophanes*, p. 83), was the god of the ancient aristocracy of Athens, an aristocracy based, as they claimed descent from Poseidon, on patriarchal conditions."

^c *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 127.

In the competition Athena produced the olive, and Poseidon, the war-horse,^a known in Acadian as *ansu-kurra*, "the animal from the East." This war-horse, which also appears as a sea-horse,^b gives to Poseidon many epithets, such, for example, as Hippius⁴³, Hippagetes⁴⁴, Hippocurius⁴⁵, and Hippomedon⁴⁶. Mr. Brown leaps to a conclusion in combatting the theory that the gods are personifications of natural forces, and says^c, quite on his own authority, that this competition "is no contest between the Dawn (Athene) and the Sea (Poseidon), but marks a time when King Porphyryon (The Purple-Man, the Phoenician) ruled at Athens and had his goddess Aphrodite Ourania (Aschthârth Melekheth-Haschâmaim = Astarte, Queen of Heaven) and also Poseidon^d."

Poseidon is seen in his oriental aspect in other parts of Greece. There was a myth concerning Demeter-Erinnys in Arcadia (Paus. viii, 25)⁴⁹, in which Poseidon as a horse followed Demeter as a mare and begat Arion, a horse. Mannhardt^e attempted an explanation of this myth, making Poseidon represent the wind rushing over the corn-fields, typified by Demeter, and fructifying them. But we must consider that Poseidon is not the god of wind. Andrew Lang criticises Mannhardt^f, but attempts no

^a Miss Harrison (Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, p. 441) gives an illustration from a vase from Kertsch, now in the Hermitage Museum (see Fig. 1), where the competition is the subject. She writes, "The serpent in this composition is usually supposed to belong to Athene and to be attacking Poseidon; I believe him to be the symbol of Poseidon's spring." This seems improbable, for in the illustration the horse is plainly seen. See also Vergil, Aeneid, i, 444⁴⁷, where the horse is given as a sign of a Phoenician settlement at Carthage.

^b For the simile of likening curling waves to horses, see Shakespeare, Othello, ii, 1, 13, "The wind-shaked surge, with high and monstrous mane." Also the painting in the "Art of Walter Crane," by P. G. Konody.

^c Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology, p. 101.

^d Pausanias, i, 14, 7⁴⁸.

^e Mythologische Forschungen, p. 265.

^f Modern Mythology, p. 51.

explanation of his own. According to Robert Brown,^a the Poseidon represented in this myth was the fish-tailed Euphratean Êa, Lord of the Deep (which includes the sea), and Demeter-Êrinnys was the earth-goddess, Davkina ('Lady of the Earth'). Such an unanthropomorphic myth is plainly oriental. How this one penetrated to Arcadia, we cannot say.

There seems to be ground, therefore, for supposing that Poseidon in some of his aspects, at least, was originally an eastern or Semitic divinity.

Miss Harrison takes a different view^b about the strife of Athena and Poseidon and thinks that "Poseidon had been in all probability established in Athens long before Athena came," basing her conclusion on the passage in Isocrates (Panath. 193)⁵⁰ which records that Eumolpus, in disputing the rule of Athens with Erechtheus, claimed that Poseidon had possessed it before Athena. Miss Harrison, however, has since changed her view and now thinks that Athena was there first.^d

Miss Harrison (l. c.) ventures the assertion that one of the names of Poseidon was Erechtheus. Mr. Farnell thinks^e that "Erechtheus was a figure that personified the ancient birth and growth of the state, and his cult was the heart of the city's life." He furthermore adds, "The fair interpretation of all the evidence is that she (Athena) was there very long before Poseidon came. Nor is there any evidence that Poseidon was called Ἐρεχθεύς in his own right or anywhere else except at Athens, for the mention in Homer of a King Erichthonius, son of Dardanos, 'richest of mortal men, who owned mares that Boreas loved' (Il. Y,

^a Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology, p. 48.

^b Mythology and Monuments, p. lix.

^c On p. xxv of Mythology and Monuments, Miss Harrison writes that a crooked olive on the Acropolis and a salt-spring were enough to start the myth. The cause seems to me to reach a little further. These two objects merely made the story local on the Acropolis.

^d Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 303. Quoted on p. 10.

^e Cults of the Greek States, vol. i, p. 270 and Note a.

222) is too doubtful to be called evidence. If Erechtheus was the old agricultural god or hero of Attica, who afterwards lent his name to Poseidon, we can understand why he should be buried, as Dionysos and Adonis and other divinities of vegetation were; but why should he be buried if he were Poseidon?"

There can be no doubt that Poseidon took the name of Erechtheus for himself at some period, and this is a thread of evidence showing that the two divinities were considered identical. The evidence found in Hesychius (s. v. Ἐρεχθεύς)⁵¹, in Lycophron (158, 431)⁵², in Apollodorus (iii, 15, 1)⁵³ and in inscriptions (C. I. A., i, 387⁵⁴; iii, 276⁵⁵, 805⁵⁶) shows this.

As one entered the Erechtheum there was an altar for sacrifices to both Poseidon and Erechtheus. The Boutadae, an agricultural clan at Athens, who had charge of the worship of Erechtheus, became priests of Poseidon-Erechtheus (Paus. i, 26, 5)⁵⁷. Erechtheus is a form of Erichthonius and so in a way is the child of Athena. Apollodorus (iii, 15, 1)⁵⁸ writes that Butes was the first priest of Athena and Poseidon-Erichthonius. We know from Aeschines (Parapres., 147)⁵⁸ that the priestess of Athena Polias was chosen from the tribe of Eteoboutadae. I cannot enter into the argument here, but it will serve merely to suggest that the mythological relation between Athena and Erichthonius is shown in the junction of the worships of Poseidon and Athena in the Erechtheum on the Acropolis (Paus., i, 26, 6-7)⁵⁷, and also at Colonnus, where Poseidon Hippius and Athena Hippias were worshipped together (Paus. i, 30, 4)⁴³. Again as father of Theseus and Eumolpus^a, Poseidon is represented as an alien god. This Eumolpus is probably only another form of the foreign sea-god. Miss Harrison^b writes that Erichthonius, or rather Erechtheus, when properly reborn, could be "made to fight with his sea-god double, Eumolpus."

Let us examine the statement that Erechtheus is a form of Erichthonius. Mr. Farnell (l. c., p. 271) thinks that Erechtheus

^a Paus. i, 17, 3⁵⁹; ⁶⁰i, 38, 2⁶⁰; Apollod. iii, 15, 4⁶¹; Lycurg. 98⁶².

^b *Mythology and Monuments*, p. lix.

is the double of Erichthonius. Mr. Brown (l. c., p. 101) speaks of "Erichthonios, otherwise Erechtheus, representative of the native Attic race." Hesychius (s. v. Ἐρεχθεύς)⁵¹ records that Erichthonius was an epithet of Poseidon. *Etymologicum Magnum* (s. v. Ἐρεχθεύς)⁵² has the phrase ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται καὶ Ἐριχθόνιος, (also Schol. on *Iliad*, B 547)⁵³. Miss Harrison (l. c., p. xlvii) says Erichthonius has a double of confusing identity—Erechtheus. Eudocia in her accounts already cited confuses the two names by telling the same story of both.

The distinction between the two is made that Erichthonius is the child hidden in the chest, whereas Erechtheus, no less earth-born, is the mature king, the political factor in the myth. In Homer (B 547)⁶³ we find only Erechtheus, but Homer in this passage considers only the political founder of Athens. When priority is stated (Eurip. *Ion*, 267³ and 1007)⁶⁴, it is Erechtheus who is the son of Erichthonius. The identity of these two caused confusion and a "shadowy" Pandion was placed between them in the line of genealogy (Apollod. iii, 14, 6)⁴. Mr. Frazer considers that Erichthonius and Erechtheus were originally identical.^a

In her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (p. xxvii), Miss Harrison asserts that Erichthonius was the eponymous hero of the Athenians and was really Poseidon himself. The Athenians were Erechtheidæ, but also autochthonous; so Erichthonius must be earth-born. When Athena became supreme, he must be closely connected with the goddess. "The Greek mind did not lend itself to any notion of immaculate conception." Hephaestus, worshipped along with Athena as an artisan, was the father, and Athena was the mother; but later when Athena came to be thought of as a parthenos, she must resist marriage; hence, the motherhood of Erichthonius was given to Gaea. Miss Harrison thinks that this version was recent when the *Ion* of Euripides was written, for at l. 269³ it reads:

^a Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 168.

“And did Athena uplift him from the earth?

Yes, in her maiden hands; she did not bear him,”
seeming to deny some previous statement of her motherhood.

On the other hand, Mr. Farnell (1. c., vol. i, p. 303) contends that Athena was undoubtedly always a virgin to the Athenian mind and was not later made so for political reasons. All this amounts to saying that the Achaean Athena was always a virgin; when Athens reached the height of her culture Athena was made a holy, almost sexless, abstraction. The ideas of motherhood, connected with her name, came from an assimilation of early, chthonic cults which were at first entirely outside her province.

However, if Erichthonius was Poseidon, and Erichthonius was Erechtheus, then Erechtheus was Poseidon, and all three are the same under different manifestations or were introduced under slightly varying circumstances.

There is another personage in the story to be treated here, and that is Cecrops, the so-called ancient king of Athens and father of the three sisters. He was loosely connected with the contest between Poseidon and Athena, but only as an arbitrator. He is much more intimately connected with the birth of Erichthonius. Miss Harrison writes (1. c., p. xlvii), “Erichthonios, the earth-born, is a sort of genealogical double of Cecrops,” meaning to imply that they were originally the same. Hyginus (Astron. iii, 13)⁹ calls the three sisters, Erechthei filiae, not daughters of Cecrops.

Let us turn to the monuments.

An archaic terra-cotta in the British Museum is probably the earliest representation of any part of this myth.^a The group (see Fig. 2) shows Mother Earth half rising from the ground and holding up a little child to the goddess Athena. “Old Cecrops, half-man, half-snake, stands by,” but the tail of the figure is distinctly not a snake’s tail, as Miss Harrison says it is, but is a fish-tail, such as belongs to the Eastern divinity mentioned as

^a Mythology and Monuments, p. xxix, Fig. 2, p. xxviii. Miss Harrison, in her description, changes right hand and left hand.

being on the coins of Cretan Itanus, who is Poseidon. Here he wears a chiton and holds an olive twig in his left hand ; his right hand is raised to his lips. The difference in size of Athena and Gaea is to be noted ; Gaea is a huge, elemental, chthonic shape, while Athena is a trim and dainty figure. This terra-cotta was found at Athens and probably dates from the early fifth century, B.C.

In the Louvre^a, there is a relief (see Fig. 3), showing Poseidon present at the birth. The central figure is Athena taking the infant Erichthonius from the arms of Gaea. The god Poseidon is seated at the left ; he has matted hair, a half-bare body and is holding a trident or sceptre.

A vase-painting^b, dating from the end of the fifth century, shows Gaea (see Fig. 4) rising from the earth and holding out the child to Athena. Behind Gaea is Cecrops ; his tail is a snake-tail, falling in loose spirals. He has a staff in his right hand and in his left he holds a fold of his chiton ; on his head he wears a chaplet. Behind Athena is Hephaestus ; so the painter knew of his fatherhood. Herse follows Hephaestus ; then on the reverse follow Aglaurus, Erechtheus, Pandrosus, Aegeus, and last, standing still, is Pallas, a male. All the male figures, except Pallas, wear chaplets and carry staves. The later kings are present merely by an anachronism, as being interested in the birth of their ancestor ; they serve to break the line of running maidens. Herse and Aglaurus are eager ; Pandrosus hangs back, extending her arms. All the figures are distinctly labelled with their names. Robert Brown refers^c to this vase and calls the figure behind Gaea, Poseidon, half-man, from the waist down a sea-monster in huge spiral coils. But in the inscription the artist names him Cecrops, and no doubt correctly.

^a *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, I, xii, 1 ; also Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 323.

^b *Berlin Catalogue*, 2537 ; Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. xxix, fig. 3. Miss Harrison, in her description of this also, confuses right and left.

^c *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 101.

According to Pernice^a, the adoption of Erichthonius and the legends connected with him were pictured on the middle metopes of the south side of the Parthenon.

These four characters, Poseidon, Erechtheus, Erichthonius and Cecrops were confused by the ancients, just as they are by modern writers, and, as far as we may judge, were originally the same personage. May not the concealment and final adoption of Erichthonius by Athena be another portrayal of her strife and reconciliation with Poseidon? Cecrops, as another form of the god, was present in either case. Miss Harrison writes (l. c., p. lix), "When Athene and her worship prevailed at Athens, there was Poseidon-Erechtheus to be settled with—Poseidon, whom Athene always hated. It was all arranged with the utmost mythological craft. As Poseidon, it was impossible to affiliate him completely; so for Poseidon was invented the myth of the contest and subsequent supremacy of Athene. But Erechtheus was more malleable; he became the foster son of Athene. . .

. Erechtheus had to be born again; he must break utterly with his past. As agriculturist and new-born home hero, he gets confused with old Cecrops; he even borrows his serpent tail sometimes, though he never is quite at ease in it." The three daughters of Erechtheus, who were originally Chthonia, Procris, and Orethya, also became confused with the more famous daughters of Cecrops.

Names are things which are hard to account for; but this jugglery with them need not blind us to the fact that these four were the same divinity. The origin of the different names is beyond our knowledge.

What can be said about Erichthonius or Erechtheus in their aspect of a snake? All four of the personages, mentioned above, show unanthropomorphic characteristics or features, but the appearance of a snake is usually ascribed to Erichthonius. We have seen that by some he was regarded as serpentine only in his lower parts, but by others he was made a serpent pure and

^a *Jahrbuch für Archäologie* x, (1895), 97.

simple. Pausanias even, in speaking of the statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon, (i, 24, 7)⁶⁵ thinks that the serpent beside her was probably Erichthonius. Frazer, in his commentary on Pausanias (vol. ii, p. 169), writes "in the oldest form of the legend Erichthonios or Erechtheus was probably nothing but the sacred serpent of Athene which lived in the Erechtheum, was considered guardian of the Acropolis, and was fed on honey-cakes once a month." A woman in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (l. 758-9)⁶⁶ says that she had not been able to sleep on the Acropolis, since she saw the snake which dwelt there. The scholiast on the passage notes that this was the sacred snake of Athena and guardian of the temple. Herodotus (viii, 41)⁶⁷ records that a great snake lived in a sanctuary on the Acropolis and was fed honey-cakes monthly. Just before the coming of the Persians against the city, the cakes were uneaten and this was taken as a sign that Athena had left the city. Plutarch (*Themist.* 10)⁶⁸ adds that offerings were made to this serpent daily. Hesychius (s. v. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν and δράκωντος)⁶⁹ tells that the snake was the guardian of Athena Polias; "some say there was one and some say two in the sanctuary of Erechtheus. They say he is the guardian of the Acropolis, to whom they offer a honey-cake." Suidas (s. v. Δράκωντος)⁷⁰, the *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 287, s. v. δράκωντος)⁷⁰, Photius (*Lex.*, s. v. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν)⁷¹, and Eustathius (on Hom. *Odyss.* α., 357; p. 1422, l. 7 ff.)⁷² all speak of this snake. According to Philostratus (*Imag.* ii, 17, 6)⁷³, the sacred serpent lived on the citadel down to his time—third century, A.D. Frazer continues, "According to one story (*Philos. Vit. Apoll.*, vii, 24)¹², Athene herself was the serpent's mother. The traditions that Erichthonius was half a man and half a serpent, or merely a man guarded by a serpent, represent the usual successive stages of popular belief through which an animal-god passes in the course of sloughing off his animal form and donning that of a man." Miss Harrison, in her *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, deals at length with the worship of snakes. On page 349, she writes, "These humanized snakes are fed with human food; their natural food would

be a live bird or rabbit. Dr. Gadow kindly tells me that a snake will lap milk, but if he is to eat his sacrificial food, the *pelanos*, it must be made *exceedingly thin*; anything of the nature of a cake or even porridge he could not swallow. And yet the snake on the Acropolis had for his monthly due a 'honey-cake'."

So Erichthonius was originally a mere snake, who was worshipped at Athens. His cult was later adopted by Athena and she became his protectress. The myth of his birth and adoption was invented to explain their relationship.

There were other snakes worshipped as gods in Greece. Meilichius, who later became Zeus, was a snake. This is conclusively shown by Miss Harrison (l. c., pp. 18-20). Aesculapius was a snake originally (ib., p. 341, ffl.). Sosipolis at Olympia, who later was absorbed into the cult of Zeus, was a snake. Pausanias (vi, 20, 2⁷⁴ and 5⁷⁵) tells the story: "There is a sanctuary of Eileithyia, in which Sosipolis, a native spirit, is honored by the Eleans. . . . The priestess sacrifices to Sosipolis according to the ordinances of the Eleans; she carries in baths for the god and sets out cakes mixed with honey. . . . It is said that when the Arcadians were making an incursion into Elis and the Eleans were encamped opposite them, a woman came to the generals of the Eleans with a child at her breast. She said that she herself had borne the child and in accordance with her dreams she would give him to fight for the Eleans. And those in command, thinking that the woman spoke the truth, placed the child naked in front of the army. Then the Arcadians came on, and the child was then a snake. And the Arcadians being thrown into confusion at the sight and taking to flight, the Eleans set upon them and won a most signal victory, and they gave the name Sosipolis to the god. And where the snake seemed to disappear after the battle they made a sanctuary. And along with him they honor Eileithyia also, because the goddess herself brought forth the child to men."

^a Frazer (Pausanias, vol. iv, p. 76) asserts that Sosipolis was Zeus, using as authorities C. Robert (Athenische Mittheilungen, 18 (1893), pp. 37-45) and Farnell (Cults of the Greek States, vol. i, p. 38). There was a cult of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Maeander.

Farnell writes^a: "the familiar serpent of Athene, occasionally identified with Erechtheus, may be supposed to have been a symbol of the ancient earth goddess, whose worship was merged in that of Athene and we support this view by the legend of the *Κυχρείδης ὄφις*, the serpent that was driven out of Salamis, and entered the service of Demeter, the later form of Gaia" (Strabo, 393⁷⁶; Pausanias, i, 36, 1⁷⁷). Frazer in a note to this passage of Pausanias thinks that this serpent was Cychreus himself. Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, p. 306) writes: "This house-guarding snake, we may conjecture, was the earliest form of every earth-born Kore." According to Miss Harrison, Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera were all originally Corae or manifestations of the same spirit. Farnell adds in a note to what is quoted above that Apollo "may have dispossessed a worship of the earth-snake at Delphi, where Gaia and Gê-Themis had reigned before Apollo, and where religious atonement continued through later times to be made to the Python." Plutarch (*Cleomenes*, 39)⁷⁸ says that "the ancients thought that the serpent, of all animals, was most akin to the heroes," thus showing that all heroes were originally worshipped as snakes, such as are shown on the well-known type of archaic Spartan grave reliefs.

This insistence upon snakes as earth-spirits, or heroes, is evidently correct, but the evidence which we have considered leads us to believe that, in Athens at least, this form of the serpent worship had come from the East in the form of some god, or was influenced in some way by the East.

Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, p. 31) distinguishes two strata in the religion of the Greeks, the one early or chthonic, the other later or Olympian. She accepts Prof. Ridgeway's view that the early stratum was Pelasgian or original, and believes that the later stratum begins with the flesh-eating Achaeans who came from the North (Note, p. 316)^b. She works the thesis out at

^a *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 290.

^b "As long ago as 1857, H. D. Müller in his remarkable book, *Mythologie der Griechischen Stämme*, pp. 249-255, saw that Zeus and Hera belonged to stocks racially distinct, and that in the compulsory marriage of Hera to Zeus is reflected the subjugation of a primitive race to Achaean invaders."

length in her book and arrives at the conclusion that the worship of snakes or snakes as heroes (chap. vii) belonged to the early stratum and that on this stratum the northern, Achæan divinities, were superimposed at a later period. I contend that Eastern influence may have come in at this chthonic or early period and may have affected the cult early in its history. Neglect of this idea makes Miss Harrison's chapter on Aphrodite (p. 308 fl.) peculiarly weak and unconvincing.

Additional evidence on the subject of snakes may show that it is not necessary to regard every snake as a form of earth-spirit.

Miss Harrison^a, who has investigated this particular subject more than any other writer, has written: "To Aglauros belongs the snake; she brought it to Athens—the snake which signifies, I think, always primarily things chthonic in their sinister, not their fruitful aspect. She lent her snake to Erichthonios, and, when the cult of Erinys, through the medium of Persephone, became blended with that of the Earth-goddess to Demeter, the snake, like all else, Athene took to herself, with better right perhaps, as I shall hope to show another time, than we have hitherto supposed." This loan of a snake to Erichthonius is strange, if Erichthonius was originally himself a snake.

The snake then, which Erichthonius was, or had, or of which he was a part, was of the earth—earthy, according to the opinion of those cited. But Erichthonius was Eastern, and Aglauros, under the aspect mentioned by Miss Harrison, is Eastern, as I shall hope to show later; so this snake is Eastern, not Greek. It is foreign to Greece.

To understand the un-Hellenic significance of snakes, consider the Cadmus snake of Thebes. The scholiast on Sophocles's *Antigone* (126) writes ἐγγόνει ὁ δράκων ἐξ Ἀρεως καὶ Τιλφώσσης Ἑρίννος. Cadmus (*Kedem*—"the man from the East") and the mass of Theban mythology is Eastern or Semitic. The Theban Ares, to whom the fifth or western gate of the city was dedicated, was the Babylonian and Assyrian Nergal ("the Strong"), originally the god of death and the underworld.^b

^a *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xii, p. 355.

^b R. Brown, *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 141.

Consider again the tale of Zagreus, the horned serpent^a. Zeus in the form of a serpent violated his daughter Persephone, who was also in the form of a serpent, according to one tradition. From this embrace Zagreus was born (Nonnus (vi, 264) calls him *κερόεν βρέφος*). Jealous Hera set the Titans upon him; he took various shapes, finally that of a bull. The Titans tore him to pieces and ate the remains. His heart, which was left unconsumed, was carried to Zeus, and was then reborn as Dionysus. Salomon Reinach treats of this myth in an article in the *Revue Archéologique* (1899, vol. xxxv, p. 210-17). The substance of his argument is as follows: The three factors, copulating (*enlacés*) serpents, a divine egg, and a horned serpent, are unknown to eastern antiquity. This cult of Zagreus, which became settled at Eleusis, was an Orphic cult. Although the legend is usually attributed to Crete, Reinach shows that a form of the legend was found among the Druids. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxix, 52)⁷⁹ tells of numbers of serpents forming themselves into a ball, from which exuded a sort of bubble of saliva or juice. Pliny does not say that a horned snake was born from this juice; in fact, no snake of any kind was born from it. In the Greek myth, Pliny's multitude of snakes is reduced to two divine ones. The later Gauls worshipped a horned serpent^b. Reinach connects these two stories and thinks that the essential features of the Greek myth are contained in them, the Greek form being the older and simpler. According to Reinach Druids were the masters of Pythagoras; Pythagoreanism and Orphism were the same, and there was a Celtic element in Orphism: "Pythagorisme était une doctrine aux allures scientifiques fondée sur le premier, qui est une religion populaire" (*i. e.*, Orphism). At an early period there were close relations between Celts, Illyrians, and Thracians. The whole tale is evidently not Greek. Miss Harrison^c in her

^a Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 547 ffl. gives the combined stories; see also Abel's *Orphica*, p. 230 ffl., and Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 490-496.

^b Reinach has treated this in *Revue Archéologique*, 1891, i, p. 1-6, and 1897, ii, p. 313 ffl.

^c *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 496.

treatment of it shows to what an incomprehensible stage this myth finally came among the Greeks.

The serpent, besides being taken as the symbol of an earth-spirit, according to some authorities, has been taken by others as a corn-spirit, for the myth of the birth of Erichthonius has been interpreted by W. Mannhardt and by Aug. Mommsen as a way of describing the growth of the grain. Mannhardt writes^a: "Erichthonios (der aus gutem Boden Entprossene) vom Blitzgotte Hephaistos gezeugt aus dem fruchtragenden Ackerfelde *ζειδωρος ἀρουρα* emporsteigt als ein neugeborenes Knäblein, das in einer verschlossenen Kiste von den Schwestern Herse (Thau), Pandrosos (Allthau) und Aglaurus (die Heitere) gehütet und genährt wird." Mommsen writes^b: "Es ist dies eine bildliche Umschreibung der Aussaat des Kornes, zunächst wohl der in Attika vorzugsweise angebauten Gerste." "Erichthonios also ist, wenn man das Bildliche abstreift, der Kornhalm."

Let us ascertain the fundamental principles underlying this matter of snakes, and see just what idea primitive peoples have of snakes. Then it will be easier to judge of their significance in later religion. Havelock Ellis has collected the evidence in such a succinct manner that I can not do better than quote his words^c: "There is no fragment of folk-lore so familiar to the European world as that which connects woman with the serpent. It is, indeed, one of the foundation stones of Christian theology. . . . Robertson Smith points out that since snakes are the last noxious animals which man is able to exterminate, they are the last to be associated with demons. They were ultimately the only animals directly and constantly associated with the Arabian *jinn* or demon, and the serpent of Eden was a demon, and not a temporary disguise of Satan (Religion of the Semites, pp.

^aDie Korndämonen, p. 33.

^bFeste der Stadt Athen, p. 6, Note 3.

^cHavelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex; Menstruation and the Position of Women*, p. 206 ff.

129 and 442). Perhaps it was in part because the snake was thus the last embodiment of demonic power that women were associated with it, women being always connected with the most ancient religious beliefs. . . . Yet there is no fragment of folklore which remains more obscure. How has it happened that in all parts of the world the snake or his congeners, the lizard and the crocodile, have been credited with some design, sinister or erotic, on women ?

Of the wide prevalence of the belief there can be no doubt. Among the Port Lincoln tribe of South Australia a lizard is said to have divided man from woman. . . . In the northern territory of the same colony menstruation is said to be due to a bandicoot scratching the vagina and causing blood to flow (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, p. 177, Nov. 1894). . . . Among the Chiriguano of Bolivia, on the appearance of menstruation, old women run about with sticks to hunt the snake that had wounded the girl. Frazer (*Golden Bough*, 1st ed., vol. ii, p. 231), who quotes this example from the *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, also refers to a modern Greek folk-tale, according to which a princess at puberty must not let the sun shine upon her, or she would be turned into a lizard. In some parts of Brazil at the coming of puberty a girl must not go into the woods for fear of the amorous attacks of snakes, and so it is also among the Macusi Indians of British Guiana, according to Schomburgk. Among the Basutos of South Africa the young girls must dance around the clay image of a snake. In Polynesian mythology the lizard is a very sacred animal, and legends represent women as often giving birth to lizards (Meyners d'Estrez, *Étude ethnographique sur le lézard chez les peuples malais et polynésiens*, *L'Anthropologie*, 1892 ; see also, as regards the lizard in Samoan folk-lore, *Globus*, vol., lxxiv, No. 16). In the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde there is a carved wooden figure from New Guinea of a woman into whose vulva a crocodile is inserting his snout, while the museum contains another figure of a snake-like crocodile crawling out of a woman's vulva, and a third figure shows a small round snake with a small head, and closely

resembling a penis, at the mouth of the vagina. All these figures are reproduced by Ploss and Bartels.^a Even in modern Europe the same ideas prevail. In Portugal, according to Reys, it is believed that during menstruation women are liable to be bitten by lizards, and to guard against this risk they wear drawers during the period. In Germany, again, it was believed, up to the eighteenth century at least, that the hair of a menstruating woman, if burned, would turn into a snake. It may be added that in various parts of the world virgin priestesses are dedicated to a snake-god and are married to the god. . . . Boudin (*Étude Anthropologique : Culte du Serpent*, Paris, 1864, pp. 66-70) brings forward examples of this aspect of snake worship. . . . At Rome, it is interesting to note, the serpent was the symbol of fecundation, and as such often figures at Pompeii as the *genius patrisfamilias*, the generative power of the family (Attilio de Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma*, p. 74.) . . . In Rabbinical tradition, also, the serpent is the symbol of sexual desire.

There can be no doubt that—as Ploss and Bartels, from whom some of the examples have been taken, point out—in widely different parts of the world menstruation is believed to have been originally caused by a snake, and that this conception is frequently associated with an erotic and mystic idea. How the connection arose, Ploss and Bartels are unable to say. It can only be suggested that the shape and appearance of the snake, as well as its venomous nature, may have contributed to the mystery everywhere associated with the snake—a mystery itself fortified by the association with women—to build up this world-wide belief regarding the origin of menstruation. . . . It is noteworthy that one of the names for the penis used by the Swahili women of German East Africa, in a kind of private language of their

^a Das Weib.

own, is "the snake" (Zache, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, p. 73, 1899).^a

I hesitate to assert, but it is possible, that there is an obscene allusion in the woman's speech in Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* (758-9)⁶⁶, where she says that she has been unable to sleep on the Acropolis since she saw the snake there. The speeches of the

^aIn this connection it is perhaps proper to call attention to the "snake goddess" and her worship at Cnossus:

In the eastern cist of the "Central Palace Sanctuary" Evans discovered three female figures of faience, one of which he named the "snake goddess" and the other two "the female votaries." The goddess wears a richly embroidered jacket with a laced bodice and a skirt with a short double apron. On her head is a high tiara of purplish brown. About her are coiled three snakes with greenish bodies covered with brown spots. She holds the head of one of these snakes in her hand; its body extends first downward and then upward over her back; its tail appears in the other hand of the goddess. The other two snakes have their bodies so arranged that a part of each snake is coiled in a girdle around the hips of the goddess. The head of one snake appears in this girdle; his body extends upward in front of the figure and his tail coils around the right ear of the goddess. The tail of the third snake is in the girdle; his body also ascends and its upper part is coiled around the tiara of the goddess.

The best preserved of the "female votaries" wears a jacket with a cord-like border and a flounced skirt. In her right hand she holds a small snake, tail upward. The other arm is missing.

Both the goddess and this votary have figures of matronly proportions, their bare breasts being prominent. Of the third figure only the lower part is preserved.

Evidence of a snake goddess cult had already been discovered in Crete prior to Evans's discoveries. At Gournia the remains of a small shrine were found, in which were images of a goddess standing on a base encircled by serpents, and a replica of the same figure was found in the cemetery of Prinias near Gortyna. The physical characteristics of the goddess, the fact that the snakes are coiled around her girdle, the presence of girdles among the votive offerings, the fact that the asp was a symbol of Nekhebet, the Egyptian Eleithya—all these circumstances lead Evans to the conclusion that the goddess was a goddess of maternity. He calls attention to the fact that religious traditions in classical times pointed to Cnossos as a center, not only of the cult of Rhea, but of Eleithya. His conclusion is that this figure represents either a special chthonic aspect of the cult of the same mother goddess, whose worship has already been so well illustrated in the palace, or an associated deity having a shrine of her own within the larger sanctuary. See also Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* vol. xv, p. 269 ff.

women in the Lysistrata usually have a double meaning. A classical allusion to this sexual, fecundating power of the snake is found in Pausanias (iv, 14, 7)⁸⁰. He writes that Aristomenes, who was honored as a hero by the Messenians, was considered to have had a most remarkable birth, for it was said that a demon or a god in the form of a snake lay with his mother. The Macedonians made similar statements concerning Olympias, as did the Sicyonians also concerning Aristodama, but with the difference that the Messenians did not claim that Aristomenes was the child of Heracles or Zeus, whereas the Macedonians thought that Alexander was the son of Ammon, and the Sicyonians that Aratus was the offspring of Asclepius.

Is this myth of Erichthonius, then, an account of some Eastern sexual worship introduced into Athens? Was it for this reason that we find the sexual idea attributed to old snake Cecrops as the introducer of marriage at Athens? Suidas (s. v. Κέκροψ)⁸¹ is authority for the statement that Cecrops made certain laws, in order to enable a son to know his father and a father his son; and in consequence of his distinction between the two natures of father and mother, he himself was called two-formed. Andrew Lang^a says that the slight evidence shows that "the traditions of Athens, as preserved by Varro, speak of a time when names were derived from the mother, and when promiscuity prevailed." Farnell^b has investigated this question and after giving all the evidence for a "matriarchate" of women, shows that the term does not explain the phenomena, which must be otherwise accounted for. His conclusions are that the "Mutterrecht" has not left any clear impress on the classical religion and the phenomena of the relations of the sexes are not necessarily distinctive indications of any special family organization. I can only suggest that the Eastern divinities were often divinities of the sexual relations. For examples we need only recall Astarte, Cybele, Artemis of Ephesus, and the Juno who is shown

^a Custom and Myth, p. 273.

^b Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Band vii, pp. 70-94.

in Vergil's *Aeneid* as the goddess of Phoenician Carthage—Juno Pronuba, the Latin form of Hera Eileithyia.

Fulgentius (*Mythologiae*, ii, 14)¹⁹, in his interpretation of the myth as one of morals, may have hit upon a grain of truth. He makes the following equations; Vulcan = furor, passion; Minerva = sapientia, wisdom: Erichthonius = invidia, envy; the chest = cor, the heart; the snake = perniciēs, ruin; Pandrosus = benignitas, and Aglaurus = tristitiæ obliuio. Lactantius (*Divinae Institutiones*, i, 17)¹³ thinks that the myth is an evidence of incestuous lust.

Erichthonius was said to have invented *quadrigae* and to have instituted the festival of the Panathenaea at Athens; this is on the authority of Hellanicus, Androtion, and Ister (*Harpocration*, s. v. Παναθήναια⁸²; Photius, *Lex.* s. v. Παναθήναια¹⁶⁹). The story means, that, as the old fish-tailed Poseidon, he was god of horses, and that, in his reconciliation with Athena, he introduced them from the East into Athens. The statement was originally made by Mommsen (*Heortologie*, p. 37) that the festival of the Panathenaea was, in its earliest form and meaning, a funeral ceremony held in honor of the dead corn-god, Erichthonius. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 295) has shown that the sole evidence for believing the festival to have been originally a period of mourning rests on a passage in Lucian (*Nigrinus* 53)⁸³, who records that the men, during the festival, must not wear garments dyed in colors, but Farnell thinks that it is not necessary to interpret the evidence as pointing to a festival of that character. Mommsen has now abandoned this view and thinks that the festival of the Panathenaea was instituted in honor of the birth of Erichthonius, who was protected by Athena. Erichthonius was in the earth and, like a human child, did not come to birth until after nine months, *i. e.*, he remained in the womb of Earth from the month Pyanepsion to Hecatombæon.

In the horse racing at the Panathenaea, the chief event was the performance of the so-called ἀποβάτης, which was said to have been instituted by Erichthonius. In this event, hoplites fully armed, leaped from their chariots and then back again, the

chariot-driver who accompanied them remaining the while in the chariot. Harpocraton (s. v. ἀποβάτης)⁸⁴ speaks of this game, and Eratosthenes (Catasterismi, 13)⁸⁵, in connection with a description of Erichthonius's birth, gives an account of it, and says that Erichthonius introduced it along with the Panathenaea. Aristides (Panathenaicus, 107)⁸⁶ makes mention of Erichthonius as a finished horseman, and the scholiast on the passage adds that he was represented in a painting on the Acropolis as driving a chariot behind Athena, he being the first to do this, having received the gift from Athena, "since he seemed to be a sort of son of hers." Themistius (Oratio, 27, 337a)⁸⁷ confounds the names, as do others, and ascribes to Erechtheus the first yoking of horses to a chariot.

Hyginus (Astronomica, ii, 13)⁹ says that Jupiter placed Erichthonius among the stars. We find this Charioteer (Heniochus) among the northern constellations, generally designated by its Latin name Auriga. It is generally known that the greater part of early astronomical knowledge originated with the peoples of the Euphrates valley. It seems that this constellation Heniochus, Erichthonius, Auriga, or The Charioteer, is of Eastern origin, and the charioteer was Poseidon himself, god of the sea and of horses.^a His special animals, the horse (Pegasus) and the dolphin (Delphinus), are placed in the heavens side by side, at some little distance from him. All these constellations are of ancient standing, and are in the list of the forty-eight given by Claudius Ptolemaeus.

In closing this treatment of Erichthonius, it may be said that the sum of the evidence shows decidedly that some Eastern or

^a R. Brown, *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 170. Also *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1897, p. 214: The Origin of the Ancient Northern Constellation-figures. The Charioteer (Heniochos) and his car, the Babylonian constellation *Narkabtu* (the Chariot), came from the Semitic East. In the Babylonian sphere *Narkabtu* was placed just over *Taurus*, where *Auriga* now is; β *Tauri* was called "the northern light of the Chariot," and Ptolemy styles it, "The one at the tip of the northern horn (of the bull), the same (which) is in the right foot of the Charioteer."

Semitic influence had been brought to bear on his character. This influence had probably been introduced by Phoenician traders, sailing about the Mediterranean Sea in pre-historic times. We can carry Erichthonius no further back in Semitic mythology, and we can only say that he was a form of Poseidon, who was probably the Euphratean Êa.

The important part of this myth in regard to the three sisters is the ritual which we find surviving in historical times. This ritual must be treated separately along with the character of each sister.

The name of the first sister is spelled either Agraulus or Aglaurus, but the latter form seems to be the better substantiated, for that only is found in inscriptions. The common explanation of the two forms, given by Preller, is that there is merely a confusion and metathesis of the liquids. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, i, p. 289, N.a) says that both names could refer equally well to a goddess or nymph of vegetation; but we are not certain that Aglaurus was originally a nymph of vegetation. It seems probable that the form Agraulus, for the daughter and wife of Cecrops, was the earlier, for we may assume that the name of the deme Agryle probably came from the same source, and its spelling does not vary. Agryle was a deme southeast of the city, near the stadium, and belonged to the tribe of Erechtheïs^a, an important point when we consider the relations between Aglaurus and Erechtheus-Erichthonius. Aglaurus was a chthonian divinity, and it would be appropriate for her to have a place named from her in that part of Athens which was intimately connected with the growth and fostering of young things, both vegetable and animal, as the cults of Ge-Themis and Eileithyia at Agrae, of Aphrodite "in the Gardens", and of Artemis Agrotera at Agrae so abundantly testify. A Greek would connect

^a Stephanus Byzantius, s. v., 'Αγρᾶνλη⁸⁸. The deme was transferred to the newly-formed tribe of Antigonis, c. 307 B.C.

the name of the divinity with ἄγραυλος, "dwelling in the fields", or when it was observed that Aglaurus was not exclusively agricultural, he might connect it with ἀγλαός, "bright", "shining". The latter form Aglaurus became stereotyped and was official^b.

We have mentioned that Aglaurus was sometimes an agricultural divinity at Athens, but at Salamis in Cyprus we find that she was worshipped along with Athena and Diomedes, and that human sacrifices were made to her down to the time of Seleucus^c. Does this Aglaurus of Cyprus resemble the Aglaurus of Athens? Yes, for at Athens Ares represents the Diomedes of Cyprus, and Ares was at one time the husband of Aglaurus. Furthermore, human sacrifice is typified aetiologically in the report that Aglaurus threw herself down from the Athenian Acropolis, or sacrificed herself for her country during a long war^d. The scholiast on Aristides (Panathenaïcus 119) says that, on the death of Aglaurus, Herse and Pandrosus also killed themselves. Miss Harrison^e thinks that the faithless sisters became mixed up in legend with three devoted sisters, *i. e.*, the daughters of Cecrops with the daughters of Erechtheus.

Ares was, under some conditions, god of the underworld; he was god of Thebes—Nergal, war-god, originally god of death and the underworld—husband of Aglaurus, and gave a name to the hill of the Semnae, the Areopagus (Suidas, s. v. Ἄρειος πάγος)⁹⁶. The scholiast on Sophocles (Antigone 126) says that the wife of Ares was the Tilphossa Erinys, to whom the Cadmus snake was born. Aglaurus it is who is the envious sister; she has the power to petrify, as is later expressed by action on herself (Ovid, *Met.*, ii, 827)⁹⁷. Snakes, then, and Aglaurus seem to be-

^a Hesychius, s. v. ἄγραυλοι, ἀγραύλοιο, ἄγραυλον, ἀγραυλῶ⁹⁸; also Ἀγραυλὶς νύμφη (Porphyrius, de Abstinencia, 2, 54)⁹⁹, and Ἀγραυλίδες παρθένοι (Euripides, *Ion*, 23)². The name is applied to Demeter, C.I.A., iii, 372⁹¹.

^b C.I.G., 7716, 7718⁹². C.I.A., iii, 372⁹¹.

^c Porphyrius, de Abstinencia, 2, 54⁹⁰; Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 4, 16⁹³; de Laude Constantini, 13, p. 646b⁹⁴.

^d Miss Harrison, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1891, p. 354. Philochorus in the Scholion on Demosthenes, xix, 438, 17 (fr. 14 M)⁹⁵.

^e *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 1x.

long together. This particular snake is not Greek; Aglaurus brought it. Aglaurus, then, is not a native Athenian in this aspect, but is un-Greek. Robert Brown^a asserts, on his own authority, that there is no real evidence that human sacrifices were ever offered by any archaic Greeks who had been entirely untouched by Semitic influence. It may be impossible to prove that this assumption is literally true, but until a well authenticated case is found to show the contrary, it may be held. Let us examine the accounts of the sacrifice in Cyprus. The accounts of Porphyrius and Eusebius differ but little; they write as follows^b: "In the present Salamis, which was formerly called Coronea, in the month styled Aphrodisius by the Cyprians, a man was sacrificed to Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops and the nymph Aglauris. And this custom obtained until the time of Diomedes; then it was changed so that the man was sacrificed to Diomedes, and this took place at a sanctuary containing a temple of Athena and of Aglaurus and of Diomedes. The man chosen for sacrifice was driven three times round an altar by the young men; then the priest struck him with a spear in the stomach, and his entire body was consumed by fire along with an offering of grain. Diphilus, the king of Cyprus, abolished this custom about the time of Seleucus, the theologian. A bull, instead of a man, was afterwards offered in sacrifice to the spirit or demon." The cult-ritual of the island of Cyprus was always affected by that of near-by Asia, and this strange custom of human sacrifice to Aglaurus seems to have come from the same source. The case of the "pharmakos" at Athens has been regarded as a case of human sacrifice to a god, but Miss Harrison in her *Prolegomena* refutes this; on p. 103 she writes: "The pharmakos was not a sacrifice in the sense of an offering *made to appease an angry god*. . . . It was, as ancient authors repeatedly insist, a *καθαρμός*, a purification." On p. 108 again: "The leading out of the pharmakos is then a purely magical ceremony based on

^a *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 147.

^b Porphyrius, *de Abstinencia*, ii, 54⁹⁰; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, iv, 16, 2 (155c)⁹³; also Eusebius, *de Laude Constantini*, 13, p. 646b⁹⁴.

ignorance and fear ; it is not a human sacrifice to Apollo or to any other divinity or even ghost ; it is a ceremony of physical expulsion."

Then, the Aglaurus of Cyprus, daughter of Cecrops, and the Aglaurus of Athens have been affected by Eastern influence along with Cecrops, Erichthonius, Erechtheus, and Poseidon. Aglaurus's husband was Ares, who in the East was Nergal-melek (Moloch). Ares's wife, again, was the Tilphossa Erinys, mother of the Cadmus snake.

Pausanias (i, 38, 3)³⁵, Hesychius³⁶, and Suidas³⁷ (s. v. Κήρυκες) all say that the tribe father of the Eleusinian Ceryces was a son of Hermes and Aglaurus ; according to others^a he was a son of Hermes and Pandrosus, or son of Eumolpus^b. This relation to Eleusis is probably of Eastern origin, since Eleusis was the seat of many foreign importations in religion, especially from Egypt^c. In any case, as we have previously seen, these Eleusinian genealogies were later taken over to Athens.

The ritual of Aglaurus, observed at Athens, confirms the sinister character of this divinity. The festival with which she was connected was the Plynteria, which was observed in the latter part of Thargelion, *i. e.*, about the middle of May. The exact date of the festival is in dispute^d ; Plutarch (Alcibiades, 34)⁹⁹ puts it on the twenty-fifth of the month, while Photius (*Lex.* 127)¹⁰⁰ dates it on the twenty-ninth. The principal day, the ἀποφράς, seems to have been on the twenty-fifth of the month. The ritual of the occasion was mournful in character, and was said to be so in remembrance of Aglaurus and her death (Bekker *Anecdota Graeca*, i, 270¹⁰¹ ; Hesychius, s. v. Πλυντήρια¹⁶⁸). The day was unlucky in all senses ; the temple of Athena, into whose

^a Scholion on Il. A, 334³² ; Pollux, 8, 103³³ ; Scholion on Aeschines, i, 20³⁴.

^b Pollux, 8, 103³³ ; Andron, on Sophocles, *Oedip. Col.*, 1053⁸⁸.

^c See A Coptic Spell of the Second Century by F. Legge in *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May, 1897, for Hecate ; R. B. Richardson, A Trace of Egypt in Eleusis, *Am. Jour. Arch.*, vol. ii, 1898 ; also the foreign cult of Dionysus-Zagreus at Eleusis.

^d Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen in Altertum*, p. 491 ffl.

cult Aglaurus had been absorbed, was closed ; the clothing was taken from the image of Athena and the statue was muffled up. It was on this day that Alcibiades returned to Athens, sailing into the Piraeus (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i, 4, 12)¹⁰², and this was considered unpropitious both for him and for the city : " For no one of the Athenians would dare to undertake any important work on this day." Mommsen (l. c., p. 494) and Miss Harrison^a think that the statue of the goddess was taken to the shore and must have been standing near the point where Alcibiades landed, so that it was seen by him. The only reasons that they have for this belief is the evidence of an inscription (C. I. A., ii, 469)¹⁰³, which records that the young men took the image of Pallas down to Phalerum and escorted it back again with torches and in pomp. There is no reference to the Plynteria, and the evidence for that festival does not show that the statue was taken to the shore, but only that the clothing, the *πέπλος*, was washed in the sea^b. It was a sort of house-cleaning occasion, and Athena was not at home for several days, beginning with the festival of the Callynteria, or sweeping day, on the nineteenth of Thargelion and extending to the twenty-fifth. It has been pointed out by Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 261-2) that the procession of the ephebi to the coast and their subsequent return at night were a part of the cult of Athena ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, and that the statue was the one from the Attic court ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ. The statue in this instance was always called ἡ Παλλάς, both in the Attic inscriptions and by Suidas. The ceremony of muffling up the image was done by two maidens called Loutrides or Praxiergi-dae^c; from the first of these two names we may conclude that these maidens also did the washing. The sacred ceremony of washing the soiled clothes itself was in hands of the *κατανίπτῃς*

^a *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1891, p. 353. Also *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 114-119.

^b Of course, the gold and ivory statue in the Parthenon by Phidias could not be taken ; the ceremony would belong to some more ancient image, probably the xoanon (Suidas, 4, p. 1273, 7)¹⁰⁴.

^c Photius, *Lex.*, p. 231, 11¹⁰⁵; Hesychius, s. v. Πραξιεργίδαι¹⁰⁶.

(*Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v.)¹⁰⁷. The mysteries, mentioned by Plutarch (*Alcibiades*, 34)⁹⁹, were in the charge of the Praxiargidae. This cult of Aglaurus, according to Toepffer (s. v. *Aglaurus*, *Pauly-Wissowa*), formed an hereditary dignity in the family of the Praxiargidae. The priestess of Aglaurus, Phidostrate, mentioned in *C.I.A.*, ii, 1369¹⁰⁸, must have belonged to this family, which is noted in another inscription (*Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1883, 141)¹⁰⁹.

Hesychius, (s. v. *Ἡγῆτηρία*)¹¹⁰ tells of a cake of dried figs, that was carried in the procession, during the celebration of the Plynteria. Why, cannot be affirmed, unless it was done as a combined agricultural and purifying symbol. Miss Harrison in her *Prolegomena* thinks that the taking of purgative herbs or drugs was "rather a means of ejecting the bad spirits than to obtain inspiration from the good. Fasting is a substantial safeguard, but purgation more drastically effective (p. 39)." Again at page 116, she writes concerning the Hegeteria: "Hesychius is at no loss to account for the strange name. Figs were the first cultivated fruit of which man partook; the cake of figs is called Hegeteria because it 'led the way' in the matter of diet. We may perhaps be allowed to suggest a possible alternative. May not the fig-cake be connected with the root of *ἄγος* rather than *ἄγω*? Figs were used in purification. Is not the Hegeteria the fig-cake of purification?" An impossible vagary!

Just what part Aglaurus originally had in this ceremony is not known; Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 500-501) is entirely uncertain about it. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, i, p. 262) thinks that the ceremony may have been merely a part of a fetish ritual in which the fetish object is treated as a living person; but he adds: "it was almost certain to acquire a moral significance and Artemidorus explains all such rites as necessitated by human sin, which pollutes the temples or the images." As a divinity of the underworld, Aglaurus had to be propitiated by expiatory, mournful ceremonies. She was almost one of the Eumenides and, so far as we can see, originally had no agricultural significance at all, as has been so often supposed.

Aglaurus had a precinct just north of the Acropolis, where the Persians ascended unexpectedly, for here the rocks were precipitous (Herodotus, viii, 53)¹¹¹. Frazer and Wachsmuth^a give all the evidence as to the location of this precinct, and place it near a natural cleft or stair-case in the rock of the Acropolis on the north side, not far east of the cave of Pan. According to Wachsmuth, the stairs from Grotto No. 56 (on Michaelis's plan of the Acropolis given in the second edition of Jahn's Pausanias) were constructed after the Persian wars, in order to connect with the Aglaureum. The sanctuary is mentioned by Polyaeus (i, 21, 2)¹¹² as the place to which Pisistratus had the arms of the Athenians carried after they had stacked them in the Anaceum.

It was in the sanctuary of this dread goddess that the Athenian ephebi took the oath of allegiance to the state^b. They swore by Agraulus (*sic*), Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone (Pollux, viii, 105)¹¹⁸. The names in the oath are of interest; Enyalius and Ares are the same, and represent the husband of Aglaurus; Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone form a triad like our three sisters; as will be seen later, Thallo may be identified with Pandrosus, and Auxo with Herse; Hegemone is, of course, Artemis. In *Mythology and Monuments* (p. 164), Miss Harrison thought that this oath was sworn to in the name of Aglaurus, merely because of her association with Athena; but in her later article in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1891), she has the right idea that Aglaurus was a goddess of sinister character and was associated with Ares, who came next in the list of divinities.

There are representations (see Fig. 5) of the ceremony on vase-paintings, shown in *Annali dell' Istituto*, xi (1868), pp. 264-267 with *tavole d'aggregazione*, H. I. There seems to have been a priestess of the sanctuary (C. I. A., ii, 1369)¹⁰⁸, and also Demeter Curotrophus, "the nursing-mother," seems to have had

^a Frazer, *Commentary on Pausanias*, vol. ii, p. 167; Wachsmuth, s. v. Aglaurus in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie*.

^b Plutarch Alcibiades 15¹¹⁸; Demosthenes xix, 303¹¹⁴; Lycurgus contra Leocratem 76¹¹⁵; Scholion on Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 533¹¹⁶; Hesychius, s. v. Ἀγλαυρος¹¹⁷.

at least an altar in the precinct, whose priest or priestess had a special seat in the theatre of Dionysus (C. I. A., iii, 372)⁹¹.

Aglaurus herself is represented on a painted amphora (see Fig. 6), which shows Boreas carrying off Oreithyia in the presence of Herse, Pandrosus, Aglaurus, Erechtheus, and Cecrops (de Witte, *Vases de l'Étrurie*, p. 58, No. 105).

Again Aglaurus is shown on an Attic red-figure vase from Corneto (see Fig. 4), showing the birth of Erichthonius (p. 16 of this text; also Furtwängler, *Vasen im Antiquarium zu Berlin*, 2, No. 2537; *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, x, Taf. 39; Roscher, *Lexicon*, s. v. Erichthonius, p. 1305).

A third representation (see Fig. 7) is found on a fragment of a red-figure vase showing a woman with the inscription, **Ἀγλαυρος* (Welcker, *Bullettino dell' Istituto Arch. Rom.*, 1834, p. 139 and 1836, p. 137).

A fourth picture (see Fig. 8) is given on a vase from Camirus in the British Museum (*Annali dell' Istituto*, 1879, tavola d'aggregazione F, Sp. 1307; also Roscher's *Lexicon*, vol. i, p. 1307, s. v., Erichthonius).

The fifth (see Fig. 9) is on a vase by Brygus, where two sisters are shown, followed by a snake (C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 88).

It seems quite probable, and the supposition is supported by a number of authorities, that a sixth representation (see Fig. 10) may be found in one of the three figures in the east gable of the Parthenon, commonly known as "The Three Fates," and now resting in the British Museum (Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i, 77 ff.)

As seventh (see Fig. 11) we may mention an identification of the Agrauidae made by F. Hauser on a neo-Attic relief, which he reconstructed from fragments found in the Vatican, the Uffizi, and at Munich, although all originally came from the Villa Palombara, (*Jahrbuch des Oesterreichischen Archaeologischen Instituts*, vi, 1903, pp. 79-107). Perhaps we may also identify the Agrauidae on numerous Attic votive reliefs dedicated to Pan (Kekulé, *Theseion*, p. 80, Nr. 192; Furtwängler, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, iii, 200).

The common facts concerning Pandrosus are similar to those concerning Aglaurus and have been stated already. She also was spoken of as the wife of Hermes along with Aglaurus and Herse, showing how confused the myth became. She was the faithful sister *par excellence* in the story of the chest.

The evidence of the inscriptions and of ancient writers^a assigns the festival of the Arrephoria to Pandrosus, along with Athena Polias. Pausanias gives his account of the ceremony just after his visit to the sanctuary of Pandrosus, and so connects the two things in thought. His is the fullest account, and is as follows: "Not far from the temple of Athena Polias live two maidens, whom the Athenians call Arrephoroi. They dwell for a certain time near the goddess, but at the time of the festival they act by night as follows. They bear upon their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them to carry; the giver does not know the nature of what she gives, nor do they who bear it understand. There is a precinct in the city not far from that of Aphrodite "in the Gardens", and a natural underground passage leads down into this precinct. By this the maidens go down from the Acropolis; they leave below what they have been carrying, and taking something else they bring it back, this also being wrapped up. These maidens are then dismissed, and two others are brought up into the Acropolis in their place."

These maidens are generally called Arrephoroi, but Hesychius (s. v. Ἐρρηφόροι)¹²⁵ and Moeris (s. v. Ἐρῤῥηφόροι)¹²⁶ call them Errephoroi, a name which is regularly supported by the evidence of the inscriptions, which use the verb ἔρρηφορεῖν many times and the noun ἔρρηφόρος once (C.I.A., iii, 902)¹²⁷; whereas ἀρρηφορεῖν occurs but twice (C.I.A., ii, 453b, p. 418¹²⁸; C.I.A., iii, 822a, p. 505)¹²⁹. The etymology of the name is usually given by the ancients as from ἄρρητα + φορεῖν, "to carry unspeakable or sacred things." This was so tempting that the form ἀρρηφορεῖν ousted the original form ἔρρηφορεῖν. It is probably on account of the form Ἐρρηφορία or Ἐρσηφορία that the scholiast on Aristophanes

^a Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 1²⁷; Pausanias i, 27, 4¹¹⁹; C. I. A., ii, 1379¹²⁰, 1383¹²¹, 1385¹²², 1390¹²³; C. I. A., iii, 887¹²⁴.

(Lysistrata, 642)¹³⁰, and Suidas (s. v. Ἀρρηφορία)¹³¹, as well as Hesychius¹²⁵ and Moeris¹²⁶, think that the festival was performed in honor of Herse.

The accounts of writers other than Pausanias may be summarized as follows^a: The number of maidens was four; they were of noble birth, between the ages of seven and eleven, and were chosen by the king archon. They dressed in white, and the ornaments of gold which they wore became sacred. They had a special kind of cakes, which were made for them and were called "*anastatoi*" (Athenaeus, 114 A)¹⁴¹. It was the duty of *two* of the maidens to begin the weaving of the new peplos for Athena. The numerous inscribed bases for statues found on the Acropolis point to the custom of setting up images of the maidens who acted as Arrephoroi, by their fathers, mothers, or brothers.

The ceremony of the Arrephoria was performed in the month of Skirophorion (Etymologicum Magnum, p. 149, s. v. ἀρρηφόροι)¹³⁷, and Mommsen (Feste der Stadt Athen, p. 509) puts it on the twelfth day.

Miss Harrison (Mythology and Monuments, xxxiii, fl.) thinks, with much probability, that this ceremony was the cause of the myth about Erichthonius. The myth of the concealment of Erichthonius in the chest arose from the concealment of something in a box which the maidens were forbidden to open.

The form of the name Ἐρσηφορία has given rise to the theory that the maidens were literally "dew-carriers", since Hesychius tells us that ἔρση means "dew", and the name Pandrosus, the sister of Herse, may be etymologized as meaning "all-dewy". Preller (i, 173), following Moeris (s. v. ἐρρηφόροι)¹²⁶, believes that the maidens were really "dew-carriers", Thauträgerinnen, without a doubt, and that the ceremony typified the refreshing quality of the night dews upon the crops. There is no reason why such a dew-carrying ceremony should be so strictly secret, and besides that, if the maidens carried dew, they would

^a Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 641 fl.¹³² with Scholia¹³⁰; Harpocration, s. v. ἀρρηφορεῖν¹³³, Hesychius, s. v. ἀρρηφορία¹³⁴, ἐρρηφόροι¹²⁵; Suidas, s. vv. ἀρρηνοφορεῖν¹³⁵, ἀρρηφορία¹³¹ and ἐπιώψατο¹³⁶; Etymologicum Magnum, p. 149, s. v. ἀρρηφόροι¹³⁷ and ἀρρηφορεῖν¹³⁸; Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, pp. 202, 446, s. v. ἀρρηφορεῖν¹³⁹; Pollux, x, 191¹⁴⁰.

know that fact. In such a childish explanation the ceremony loses all its hidden meaning. The two words *δρόσος* and *ἔρση* may also mean "young things" or "young animals". It was from this meaning that Apollo derived his title of "Hersos", found inscribed in the cave at Vari (C. I. A., i, 430)¹⁴². Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon* (147)¹⁴³ writes that Artemis is the fair goddess who favors the *δρόσοι* of creatures who are fierce; the context shows that these *δρόσοι* must be sucklings (*Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v. *ἔρσαι*, p. 377, 38)^{a144}.

Miss Harrison (l. c., p. xxxv) clearly suggests that the objects carried by the maidens in the *cistae* were images (*πλάσματα*)^b of young things, and probably figures of a snake and a child. The myth of Erichthonius and the three sisters was invented so that the maidens would not open the boxes. It is to be noticed that the maidens, the *Arrephoroi*, lived in the precinct of the faithful sister, Pandrosus; Aglaurus had her precinct outside the Acropolis. Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 121, Note.), commenting upon a passage in the *Scholia* of Lucian (*Dialogi Meretricii*, ii, 1)¹⁴⁵, which contains an account of the *Thesmophoria*, has changed her opinion about the *πλάσματα* carried in the boxes, and she now interprets them as "*φάλλοι*. Septuagint, Is. iii, 17. The *Arrephoroi* are not, as I previously (*Mythology and Monuments Ancient Athens*, p. xxxiv) suggested, *Hersephoroi*, Carriers of Young Things."

We have seen that there was a sexual idea present in the introduction of the form of the snake. Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 14, 15)¹⁴⁶ says that the women celebrated the *Thesmophoria*, the *Skirophoria*, and the *Arrephoria*, and these festivals were the same in kind. We have accounts of the *Thesmophoria*. The most complete is that given by the scholiast on Lucian (l. c.)¹⁴⁵. A summary of it, containing all the important phrases, is as follows: The ceremony was performed by the women alone. In memory of Eubouleus and his swine, which

^a Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. xxxiv.

^b I think that we may emend the *pigmenta* of Lactantius Placidus (*Narrationes Fabularum*, ii, 12)¹⁸ to *figmenta*.

were swallowed up when Pluto stole away Persephone, pigs were cast into certain places called "megara", and when the flesh had decayed, it was brought forth by women called "drawers", who had undergone ceremonial purification for three days. It was believed that if some of this flesh was taken and sown with the grain the crop would be good. It was also said that there were snakes in these "megara", and that when the "drawers" descended to bring up the flesh, a noise was made to drive the snakes away. The same feast was called the Arretophoria, "and the same ceremonial is used to produce the fruit of the earth and the offspring of men." Mysterious sacred objects, made from wheaten dough in the shapes of snakes and men (φάλλοι), were also placed in the chasms at the time of the festival, along with shoots of the pine tree. These shoots and the pigs were chosen as symbols of fertility, and typified the production of fruit and the procreation of children.

Frazer^a thinks that the corn-spirit was early conceived of in the form of a pig, which later became anthropomorphic and was called Demeter and Persephone. There was a legend that in searching for her lost daughter, Demeter found Persephone's foot-prints obliterated by the tracks of pigs. These tracks, in the early stage of the story, were those of the goddesses themselves. Farnell gives his conclusions in regard to the Thesmophoria as follows:^b "My conclusions are that this ritual has no relation to any form of marriage at all, but was a form of magic to secure fertility, and that the women had the prerogative because they were more potent in this form of magic than the men, the ideas of the fertility of the field and the fertility of the womb being necessarily conjoined in this as in many agrarian ceremonies." Farnell will treat the Thesmophoria in the third volume of his *Cults of the Greek States*.

The symbols of fructification in the Thesmophoria were understood by the grown-up women who used them as typifying the

^a Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., ii, 299-303, where analogies among different peoples are given.

^b *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1904 (vii, p. 80).

power "both to produce the fruit of the earth and the offspring of men." In the Arrephoria, however, these male attributes of fructification were kept a secret from the maidens, and could not be revealed to them, until they had been introduced to the spirits of birth and life. Miss Harrison thinks it probable that, from the Acropolis, the maidens went down to the sanctuary of Eileithyia, "goddess of child-birth," which sanctuary was near that of Aphrodite "in the Gardens" (C. I. A., iii, 318, Ἐρσηφόρους β. Εἰλειθυία[ς] ἐν Ἀγραις.). This goddess must be propitiated by the young girl; it is not known why *all* Athenian maidens were not Arrephoroi, but it is known that here the maiden is initiated before she is allowed to understand the ritual, just as is the case in initiation into any real religion. This ceremony of the Arrephoria, we are told, had something to do with the fertility of the fields and the productivity of women, being allied to the Thesmophoria in that respect. Toepffer writes (*Attische Genealogie*, p. 121); "Mir scheint der innere Zusammenhang zwischen den bei Pausanias geflissentlich verdunkelten Arrephorien-Gebräuchen und den erst durch Rohde genauer bekannt gewordenen, der Demeter und ihrer Tochter zu Ehren begangenen Ceremonien, die den Namen Ἀρρητοφóρια führten, unverkennbar."

Let us look for parallels of this relation between women and the crops of the fields. Frazer (*Commentary on Pausanias*, ii, p. 168) records that a story closely resembling this of the Arrephoria is told in Java^a, but he gives none of the details. Among the ancient writers there are several references to the peculiar relations supposed to exist between women and the crops of the field. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxviii, 77 and 78)¹⁴⁷ says, "Hailstorms, whirlwinds, and lightings are driven away by a woman uncovered at the time of her monthly periods. . . . If women, stripped naked at the time of their menses, walk around a field of grain, the caterpillars, beetles, and other vermin will fall off the ears. Metrodorus Scepsensis reports that in Cappadocia, on account of the great number of insects, the women go through

^a Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsh Indië, 14de Jaargang (1852). Tweede Dell. p. 396.

the cultivated fields with their clothing raised to their waists. In other places it is customary for them to go with bare feet, hair in disorder and girdles loosened." Pliny in another place (xvii, 266)¹⁴⁸ tells that women during their monthly flow, with naked feet and loosened girdles, could protect an orchard from caterpillars by walking around each tree. Havelock Ellis^a reports on the authority of Bastanzi that this is believed and acted upon in Italy to-day.

Aelian (*de Natura Animalium*, vi, 36)¹⁴⁹ records that if a woman during her monthly purgation walked through a garden, the caterpillars would be destroyed. Columella (*De Re Rustica*, x, 357-362¹⁵⁰, and xi, 3, 64) tells of this same remedy and gives it on the authority of Democritus, who wrote a treatise *περὶ ἀντιπαθῶν*. Palladius (*De Re Rustica*, i, 35, 3)¹⁵¹ gives his testimony also to this custom.

Longfellow in his poem of *Hiawatha* (xiii) tells the Indian legend of how Minnehaha blessed the corn-fields at the direction of her husband :

" You shall bless to-night the corn-fields,
Draw a magic circle round them,
To protect them from destruction,
Blast of mildew, blight of insect,
Wagamin, the thief of corn-fields,
Paimosaid, who steals the maize-ear.
In the night when all is silence,
In the night, when all is darkness,
When the Spirit of Sleep, *Nepahwin*,
Shuts the doors of all the wigwams,
So that not an ear can hear you,
So that not an eye can see you,
Rise up from your bed in silence,
Lay aside your garments wholly,
Walk around the fields you planted,

^a Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Appendix A, Menstruation and the Position of Women, p. 212-213.

Round the borders of the corn-fields,
 Covered by your tresses only,
 Robed with darkness as a garment.
 Thus the fields shall be more fruitful,
 And the passing of your footsteps
 Draw a magic circle round them,
 So that neither blight nor mildew,
 Neither burrowing worm nor insect,
 Shall pass o'er the magic circle,
 Not the dragon-fly, *Kwo-ne-she*,
 Not the spider, *Subbekashe*,
 Nor the grasshopper, *Pah-puk-keena*,
 Nor the mighty caterpillar,
Way-muk-kwana with the bearskin,
 King of all the caterpillars."

The original of this legend is recorded in Schoolcraft's *Oneota* (p. 83). I quote his account of the custom also: "A singular proof of this belief, in both sexes, of the mysterious influence of the steps of a woman on the vegetable and insect creation is found in an ancient custom, which was related to me, respecting corn-planting. It was the practice of the hunter's wife, when the field of corn had been planted, to choose the first dark night or overclouded evening to perform a secret circuit, *sans habillement*, around the field. For this purpose she slipped out of the lodge in the evening, unobserved, to some obscure nook, where she completely disrobed. Then, taking her matchecota, or principal garment, in one hand, she dragged it around the field. This was thought to insure a prolific crop, and to prevent the assaults of insects and worms upon the grain. It was supposed they could not cross the charmed line."

This version combines all the essential features of our myth, whose origin we must seek in a primitive ceremony intended to be magical in its effect, in which the fertility of woman acts favorably upon the crops of the fields—*similia similibus curantur*.

I think that it has not been noticed that one of Horace's Odes (iii, 23), addressed to a country maiden, Phidyle, may have some

bearing on this question. Certain ceremonies are mentioned, the object of which is to obtain fruitful crops, and although no walking at night is spoken of, still the dark of the moon is mentioned; but all the details are not to be expected in Horace's poem, which is not primarily an account of the ceremony. This "dark of the moon" superstition needs no discussion here; almost everyone can recall some modern case of it. It is interesting to notice that a pig is to be sacrificed; this reminds one of the Thesmophoria.

Caelo supinas si tuleris manus
Nascente luna, rustica Phidyle,
Si ture placaris et horna
Fruge Lares avidaque porca :

Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
Fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges
Robiginem aut dulces alumni
Pomifero grave tempus anni.

I may even dare to bring forward as a case in point the tale of the Lady Godiva or Godgifu, a Saxon lady of Coventry, England, who rode completely naked through the town as an act of devotion to her people, so that they might be freed from the burdens which had been imposed by her husband, Leofric, Earl of Mercia. This is an historical instance, and was commemorated by a fair, which has been held at intervals ever since, but I believe that back of this historical event there was a folk-belief in this peculiar efficacy of a naked woman. There is a full discussion of this tale in Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, but it is best known from Tennyson's poem, *Godiva*.

These scattered instances, which I have enumerated from Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, England, and North America, will serve to show how widely spread is this belief, which I think is also the root idea of the Athenian *Arrephoria*^a.

^a It may be objected that the age of the maiden *Arrephoroi* (7-11) is previous to womanhood or the appearance of the menses, but the *Arrephoria* is to be regarded as a sort of prelude to the Thesmophoria; the effects are similar.

The Arrephoroi seem to have taken part in the minor festival of the Chalcea also, for Suidas (s. v. *Χαλκεία*)¹⁷⁰ records that the Chalcea was "a festival at Athens, which some call the Athenaea. It was afterwards celebrated by the artisans only, because Hephaestus worked in bronze in Attica. It falls on the last day of Pyanepsion, at which time the priestesses along with the Arrephoroi set the threads in the loom (*διάζονται*) for the weaving of the peplos. Phanodemus thinks that the festival is not in honor of Athena, but of Hephaestus." Bekker (*Anecdota Graeca*, i, 239)¹⁷¹ speaks of a Deipnophoria, which consisted of "carrying gifts of food to the daughters of Cecrops, Herse, Pandrosus, and Aglaurus. It was carried out elaborately for some mystical reason, and many celebrated it, for it embodied an element of rivalry." Whether this Deipnophoria was distinct from the other festivals in which the daughters were concerned is uncertain.

It is hardly necessary to discuss the different forms that the word Arrephoria takes. Arretophoria could be applied in its etymological meaning to the Arrephoria just as well as to the Thesmophoria, as Lucian's scholiast tells us. The form *ἀρρήνοφορεῖν*, given by Suidas, is suggestive, if the first part could be connected with *ἄρρην*, "male", but the retention of *η* in the compound is against this view, although such retention may be justified by analogy.

From an inscription (C. I. A., iii, 319, *Ἐρσηφόροις β. Γῆς Θέμιδος*), it seems evident that Pandrosus, the patroness of this ceremony of the Arrephoria, was sometimes identified with Ge-Themis, who is an earlier aspect of Demeter and Persephone (Miss Harrison, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1891, p. 352), who were patronesses of the Thesmophoria. In fact, both or all these divinities were earth spirits. Pandrosus in the myth is faithful to her trust; she is really Curotrophus. Miss Harrison would also conceive of Eileithyia as this early earth-goddess. This Ge-Themis-Pandrosus divinity passed away before the rising Demeter, and Hermes, the husband of Pandrosus,—Hermes who

was an ithyphallic god of fertility^a, leaves some traces of his relationship on the Areopagus (Pausanias, i, 28, 6), *κέῖται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα*. An ancient wooden image of Hermes was kept in the temple of Athena Polias, concealed by myrtle boughs; it was said to be an offering of Cecrops, the legendary father of Pandrosus (Pausanias, i, 27, 1)¹⁵².

A passage in Harpocration (s. v. *ἐπίβοιον*)¹⁵³ based on the authority of Philochorus reads, "if anyone sacrificed an ox to Athena, it was necessary to sacrifice also a sheep to Pandora." These sacrificial animals are natural in the case of agricultural divinities. This passage has puzzled students, who amend *Pandora* to *Pandrosus*, since Pandora is not otherwise found in the cult of Athena. However, if we recognize that Pandrosus is Ge, and Pandora is the same, it is unnecessary to make the change. Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 278-81) thinks that Pandora was merely a form of Kore, or the twin earth-spirit of Demeter. By what seems a mere slip, Fulgentius (*Mythologiae*, ii, 14)¹⁹ speaks of the two sisters, Aglaurus and Pandora, where Pandora is evidently Pandrosus. Photius and Suidas also give a variant reading of *Pandora* for *Pandrosus* in their descriptions of the *προτόνιον*¹⁵⁴.

The Pandroseum, or sanctuary of Pandrosus, was on the Acropolis just west of the Erechtheum. This is clear from the evidence of the inscriptions relating to the building of the Erechtheum^b and from the account of Pausanias (i, 27, 2)¹⁵⁵, who says that the temple of Pandrosus, which must have been in this enclosure, was contiguous (*συνεχής*) to the Erechtheum. According to

^a Preller-Robert, 4th ed., p. 383. Hermes was also the father of Cephalus by Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus. In this discussion I have not taken the various local peculiarities of Erechtheus into consideration; an account by Engelmann may be consulted in Roscher's *Lexicon*.

^b C. I. A., i, 322 (l. 45, 63, 70)¹⁵⁵; C. I. A., iv, 1, p. 148¹⁵⁶; also Philochorus, fr. 146 in Dionysius Halicarnassensis de Dinarcho, 3¹⁵⁷. This last fragment makes mention of an altar of Zeus Hecceus under the sacred olive in the Pandroseum, saying that a dog entered the Pandroseum from the temple of the Polias and mounted and lay down upon this altar; the dog was taboo on the Acropolis.

Frazer,^a the temple was a small building which seems to have abutted on the south end of the west wall of the Erechtheum.

Sacrifices were made to Athena Polias and to Pandrosus by the Athenian youths (C. I. A., ii, 481)¹⁵⁹. I am not discussing here the fact that later, in Athenian religion, the all-powerful cult of Athena absorbed the cults of Aglaurus and Pandrosus, and that Athena used their names attached to her own merely as cult epithets. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 439)¹⁶⁰ thinks that it was from Pandrosus that Athena received the name of Pandrosus. The Arrephoroi acted both for Athena Polias and for Pandrosus, as we learn from inscriptions on the bases of statues set up to them in the Pandroseum (C. I. A., iii, 887¹²⁴; ii, 1390)¹²³. Thallo, who was one of the personifications of the seasons, was worshipped by the Athenians along with Pandrosus, according to Pausanias (ix, 35, 2)¹⁶¹. This Thallo was one of the spirits invoked in the oath of the ephebi at the sanctuary of Aglaurus.

It was probably in the Pandroseum that the court for ball-playing for the Arrephoroi was placed, and in this court there was also a bronze statue of Isocrates, represented as a boy on horseback (*Vitae decem Oratorum*, p. 839b.)¹⁶². Here also was the ancient olive^b tree, sacred to Athena, which Pausanias and Apollodorus mention (*Apollodori Bibliotheca*, iii, 14, 1)^{163a}.

A trace of Eastern or Semitic influence in the case of Pandrosus is seen in the fact that she was regarded as the first spinner. Her priestess wore a peculiar robe which was called *ποδώνυχον*. This is mentioned by Pollux (x, 191)¹⁴⁰, and also by Suidas and Photius (s. v. *πρωτόνιον*)¹⁵⁴. Pandrosus with her sisters made clothing for men out of wool. The Phoenicians were the introducers of the fine arts into Greece and some of the traits of Pandrosus probably came with the Phoenicians. The two Arrephoroi, who wove the peplos for Athena, typify Pandrosus and her sister. Athena Ergane later usurped their prerogatives. Pandrosus is kept in close connection with the Erech-

^a *Commentary on Pausanias*, ii, p. 337.

theum, and the grave of her old Semitic father Cecrops was near at hand under the southwest corner of that building, if Dörpfeld is correct in his identification. So here we have Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Pandrosus in juxtaposition on the Acropolis, typifying the old Semitic element in the settlement around the Acropolis.

Pandrosus is represented along with Aglaurus on the amphora showing Boreas carrying off Oreithyia (see Fig. 6); on the red-figure vase from Corneto, showing the birth of Erichthonius (see Fig. 4); she is probably one of the "Three Fates" in the eastern gable of the Parthenon (see Fig. 10), and she is identified with certainty by Robert (*Hermes*, xvi, 67) as the maiden on the Petersburg hydria (Petersburg Collection, Vol. ii, 1021), whom Brunn takes as the nymph of the place (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie*, 1876, I, 477).

We come now to the third sister, Herse, and find that she has no cult at Athens, nor is there any Athena Herse; Athena does not adopt her name as she did the names of Aglaurus and Pandrosus. Herse has not even an abiding place. Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, ii, 739)¹⁶⁴ noticed this, and placed her in a middle chamber on the Acropolis between Pandrosus and Aglaurus. Other earlier writers, such as Ister (Scholiast on Aristophanis *Lysistrata* 643)¹⁸⁰, felt the need of a cult for Herse, and so they state that the Arrephoria or Ersephoria was held in her honor. However, we have seen that this festival was really held in honor of Pandrosus, and the evidence of Ister cannot counterbalance the weight of evidence on the other side. Miss Harrison (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, p. 351) shows quite conclusively that Herse "is a mere etymological eponymous of the festival Hersephoria." She is but the double of Pandrosus; she is not original in the myth, but comes in later to make up a triad, as in the case of the Charites. Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 286) writes: "Evidence is not lacking that the trinity-form grew out of the duality." Originally there were only two, a variation of mother and maid, Demeter and Kore,

or two forms of the same thing at different stages. Of course, in classical times Herse was recognized and represented in art, and confuses the myth by being associated with Hermes as his wife, and by usurping the rights of her sisters in other ways. Alcman (fr. 48, taken from Plutarch's Symposium, iii, 10, 3)¹⁶⁵ poetically says that Ersa was the daughter of Zeus and Selene, but here the reference is clearly to the dew which forms only on clear, moonlight nights, and there is no idea of Herse being one of the "dew-sisters".

C. Robert (De Gratiis Atticis in Comment. Mommsen, p. 143 ff.) has noticed a connection between these maidens and the Charites; he holds that Herse should be identified with Auxo, just as Pandrosus was with Thallo. Auxo was mentioned along with Aglaurus and Thallo in the oath of the ephebi (Pollux, viii, 106)¹¹⁸. Toepffer's ideas in regard to this relationship have already been discussed. Miss Harrison in her Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, (p.260) discusses a black-figure cylix in Munich (see Fig. 12), which shows certain creatures, whose upper part is in the figure of a maiden, while the lower part is snakelike; they are creeping about among some vines or shrubbery. "They are Charites, givers of grace and increase, and their snake-bodies mark them not as malevolent, but as earth-daemons, genii of fertility. They are near akin to the local Athenian hero, the snake-tailed Cecrops, and we are tempted to conjecture that in art, though not in literature, he may have lent his snake-tail to the Agraulid nymphs, his daughters."

On a neo-Attic relief (F. Hauser, Jahrbuch des Oesterr. Arch. Instituts, vi, 1903, p. 79-107; American Journal of Archaeology vii, (1903), p. 468), we find the Agraulidae represented along with the Horae, three figures each (see Fig. 11). From the same place—the Villa Palombara in Italy—came the reliefs of the Moerae, Zeus, and Hephaestus, now at Tegel, which are reproduced on the Madrid puteal along with the birth of Athena. It is interesting to note that Hesychius¹⁶⁷ says that the Moerae and the Agraulidae were considered the same among the Athenians. In this set of reliefs there seem to have been four divisions, and

Hauser thinks that it is probable that they are copies of bronze reliefs by the younger Cephisodotus, which adorned the altar of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira at the Piraeus.

Herse may be represented along with Aglaurus in the places mentioned in the treatment of that divinity, and possibly she is also shown along with Poseidon on a vase at Munich (Münchener Vasen, 415).

In the original myth, then, we have Aglaurus, Pandrosus, and Erichthonius. It is interesting to note the succession of their festivals; the Plynteria in Thargelion (May-June), the Arrephoria in Scirophorion (June-July), and the Panathenaea in Hecatombaeon (July-August). This may denote successive stages in the development of the crops (Stephanus Byzantius, s. v. Ἀγραιλή)⁸⁸.

When Athena became the great political goddess (Polias) of the Athenian state, she took over all these festivals into her own cult, and of these the Panathenaea was made the greatest, being the last of the three. The divinities with their Eastern characteristics became reconciled to Athena on the Acropolis and were subordinated to her. They became merely cult names.

We have seen that the sisters cannot be merely "dew-carriers", and the whole story cannot be simply an agricultural myth, nor can these nymphs be only spring nymphs of the Acropolis as E. Curtius (Hermes, xxi, p. 291) would have us believe. The evidence does not permit of these conclusions. We have been driven to a non-Greek or Semitic origin for some of their attributes; Cecrops and Erichthonius are unanthropomorphic; the sisters are sisters of Phoenice, "the Phoenician" (Suidas, s. v. Φοινικήϊα γράμματα)⁸¹; Aglaurus is propitiated by human sacrifice, and Pandrosus, closely associated with Cecrops, is the first spinner. Any etymologizing on the origin of these names I must leave to some one better fitted for determining it.

^a Harpocraton (s. v. Παναθήναια)⁸² tells on ancient authority that Erichthonius instituted the Panathenaea; of course not under that name, for that comes from the so-called coalition of Theseus. Suidas records (s. v. Κουροτρόφος Γῆ)¹⁶⁶ that Erichthonius was the first to sacrifice to Ge-Curotrophus (Pandrosus?) on the Acropolis.

It may be well in conclusion to recapitulate the story of the birth of Erichthonius, in order to see what remains after certain embellishments have been left out.

In the first place the relations between Hephaestus and Athena were late in arising, and came from the fact that both were associated with artisans, and were worshipped by different classes of society in the Athenian state. When Athena as Ergane and Hephaestus were brought into conjunction with one another in the clash of worships at Athens, they had to marry and have a child, but Athena had also to preserve her virginity. Previous to this time Athena had come into conflict with a chthonic, or snake god, and had adopted him into her cult. This snake was Erichthonius and he was the same as Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Poseidon, of which last the story of the reconciliation is usually told. If this snake divinity was purely native to Athens in the beginning, he had, at any rate, been affected by Eastern influences at a later period, as is shown by his identification with Cecrops and Poseidon, and his place in the sky among the heavenly bodies. This snake god, who sometimes vacillates in form between snake and human form, at last came into the story as the product of the struggle between Athena and Hephaestus. There was a ritual for the worship of this snake god, which was celebrated by grown women in the Thesmophoria and by girls in the Arrephoria. This ritual of the Arrephoria gave rise to the story of the concealment of the snake-child Erichthonius in a chest, and his delivery over to certain maidens for them to guard. In the ceremony images of snakes and of the male member of generation were put into a box, which must not be opened by the maidens who guarded it. The symbols in the box were used as a charm, or were supposed to act beneficially on the crops of the fields, as also did the women themselves. I have discussed the relations between snakes and men and women, and the supposed effect of women on the fertility of the fields. I might even hazard a guess that the kernel of the ceremony, that started the myth of the concealment, is the typification of the sexual act itself by symbols, namely a chest, or box, and the image of a snake put into

it. Finally the two maidens of the Arrephoria were represented in the myth by certain nymphs, who, as has been shown, were originally two in number, one faithful, one unfaithful. Certain ritualistic practices were attached to their worship, and produced different endings to the myth, after the girls had opened the chest; this has been shown in the study of the Plynteria. The whole myth then is a confusion of Olympian divinities with chthonic, or primitive cults, and Eastern influences, which it is well nigh impossible to unravel completely and to tabulate. The part played by Hephaestus and Athena and the consequent fructification of the earth has the appearance of an Aryan nature myth, such as is shown in the Rig-Veda, where the Indra bull pours his fructifying seed upon mother earth in the form of rain.

In the explanation of the various aspects of the myth which I have tried to give, if any one thing has been emphasized, it is this, that sex and the social position of women are to be recognized as important factors in the development of the rituals of early peoples, among whom we may number the Greeks. The pushing back of the origin of certain features of the myth under consideration to an Eastern source need only make more certain the sexual features which appear in the fragmentary accounts of the myth and ritual which have come down to us. The ultimate explanation of the why and the wherefore of certain beliefs, either in regard to sex or other natural phenomena, lies in the psychological ground-work of primitive man, and in the study of such a ground-work we are as yet mere novices and gropers in darkness.^a

^a I cannot leave this question of the influence of sex, in the study of Greek ritual and mythology, without giving one more instance that has occurred to me, although it has no connection with the myth under discussion. Miss Harrison treats of the ceremony of the "Aiora" in *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. xl, and it is also discussed by Wentzel in the *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopaedie*. The story concerning the origin of the festival was that Icarius was murdered by the Athenians, and that his daughter Erigone wandered about in search of him; when she found his dead body, she hanged herself. The Athenians were punished for the murder, for many of the Athenian women sought the same death as Erigone. A festival was instituted in memory of the death of Erigone, but

instead of women, puppets were strung up (*αλωπεῖσθαι*), and Erigone was celebrated in a song as the ἀλῆτις, or wandering one. The festival, then, seems to have been one of expiation, and in the ritual there was swinging by maidens. Miss Harrison thinks that the whole myth is a contamination of primitive Dionysiac worship and late Apolline cults; from the first, the idea of a wave-offering, from the second, the notion of the expiation of hereditary guilt. She adds: "Why the wave-offering or swinging is considered expiatory, I do not clearly know, but the notion of swinging as a cultus practice is not, I believe, confined to the Greeks."

The festival was said to be εὐδειπνος, and was also "licentious" or "wanton" (*τροφῶν*) in character (Athenaeus, xiv, 10). There is described in Bent's *Cyclades* (p. 5) a swing festival at Seriphos and Karpathos, celebrated at the present time, where maidens are swung, just as they were in the ceremony of the "Aiora". However, it is the licentiousness of the ceremony that I wish to speak of; this licentiousness is to be explained by the effects of the swinging, and I can best account for this effect of swinging by quoting passages from different writers bearing on the point. Havelock Ellis (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Auto-Erotism*, p. 120) writes in connection with the use of hobby-horses: "at the temples in some parts of central India, I am told, swings are hung up in pairs, men and women swinging in these until sexually excited; during the months when the men in these districts have to be away from home the girls put up swings to console themselves for the loss of their husbands." Again Ellis writes (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex; Love and Pain*, p. 121): "The imagined pleasure of being strangled by a lover brings us to a group of feelings which would seem to be not unconnected with respiratory elements. I refer to the pleasurable excitement experienced by some in suspension, swinging, restraint, and fetters. Strangulation seems to be the extreme and most decided type of this group of imagined or real situations, in all of which a respiratory disturbance seems to be an essential element (Angell and Thompson, "A Study of the Relations between certain Organic Processes and Consciousness," *Psychological Review*, January, 1899. A summary statement of the relations of the respiration and circulation to emotional states will be found in Külpe's *Outlines of Psychology*, Part i, section 2, par. 37). In explaining these phenomena we have to remark that respiratory excitement has always been a conspicuous part of the whole process of tumescence and detumescence, of the struggles of courtship and of its climax, and that any restraint upon respiration, or, indeed, any restraint upon muscular and emotional activity generally, tends to heighten the state of sexual excitement associated with such activity. I have elsewhere, when studying the spontaneous solitary manifestation of the sexual instinct (*Auto-Erotism*), referred to the pleasurable emotional, and sometimes sexual, effects of swinging and similar kinds of movement. It is possible that there is a certain significance in the frequency with which the eighteenth century French painters, who lived at a time when the refinements of sexual emotion were carefully sought out, have painted women in the act of swinging. Fragonard mentions that in 1763 a gentleman invited him into the country,

with the request to paint his mistress, especially stipulating that she should be depicted in a swing. The same motive was common among the leading artists of that time. It may be said that this attitude was merely a pretext to secure a vision of ankles, but that result could easily have been obtained without the aid of a swing." Kline in an article "The Migratory Impulse" in *The American Journal of Psychology* for October, 1898, p. 62, writes: "The sensation of motion, as yet but little studied from a pleasure-pain standpoint, is undoubtedly a pleasure giving sensation. For Aristippus, the end of life is pleasure, which he defines as gentle motion. Motherhood long ago discovered its virtue as furnished by the cradle. Galloping to town on the parental knee is a pleasing pastime in every nursery. The several varieties of swings, the hammock, see-saw, flying-jenny, merry-go-round, shooting the chutes, sailing, coasting, rowing, and skating, together with the fondness of children for rotating rapidly in one spot until dizzy, and for jumping from high places are all devices and sports for stimulating the sense of motion. In most of these modes of motion the body is passive or semi-passive, save in such motions as skating and rotating on the feet. The passiveness of the body precludes any important contribution of stimuli from kinaesthetic sources. *The stimuli are probably furnished, as Dr. Hall and others have suggested, by a redistribution of fluid pressure (due to unusual motions and positions of the body) to the inner walls of the several vascular systems of the body.*"

LITERARY SOURCES.

¹ Antigonus Carystius, Hist. Mirab. xii: Ἀμελισταγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγεγραφώς, οὗ φησι κορώνην προσίπτασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐδ' ἔχει ἂν εἰπεῖν ἑωρακῶς οὐδεὶς. Ἀποδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μυθικῶς. φησὶν γὰρ Ἡφαίστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηναῖς, συγκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Ἡφαιστον, εἰς γῆν πεσόντα, προῖεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα. τὴν δὲ γῆν ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον· ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν, καὶ εἰς κίστην καθεῖρξαι, καὶ παραθῆσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισίν, Ἀγραῦλῳ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἑρσῃ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ. ἀφικομένην δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην, φέρειν ὄρος, ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ· τὰς δὲ Κέκροπος θυγατέρας τὰς δύο, Ἀγραυλὸν καὶ Πάνδρυσον, τὴν κίστην ἀνοῖξαι, καὶ ἰδεῖν δράκοντας δύο περὶ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον. τῇ δὲ Ἀθηναῖ, φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττός, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ· τὴν δὲ ἀκούσασαν, ῥῖψαι τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου νῦν ἐστι. τῇ δὲ κορώνῃ, διὰ τὴν κακαγγελίαν, εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμεις αὐτῇ ἔσται ἀφικέσθαι.

² Euripides, Ion, 21 ff. :

κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη
φρονρῶ παραζεύξασα φύλακε σώματος
δισσῶ δράκοντε, παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι
δίδωσι σώζειν.

³ Euripides, Ion, 258-274 :

- ΙΩΝ. τίς δ' εἶ; πόθεν γῆς ἦλθες; ἐκ ποίου πατρὸς
πέφυκας; ὄνομα τί σε καλεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεῶν;
260 ΚΡ. Κρέουσα μὲν μοι τοῦνομ', ἐκ δ' Ἑρεχθέως
πέφυκα, πατὴρ γῆ δ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.
ΙΩΝ. ὦ κλεινὸν οἰκοῦσ' ἄστνυ γενναίων τ' ἄπο
τραφεῖσα πατέρων, ὥς σε θαυμάζω, γύναι.
ΚΡ. τοσαῦτα κεῖνυχοῦμεν, ὦ ξέν', οὐ πέρα.
265 ΙΩΝ. πρὸς θεῶν ἀληθῶς, ὡς μεμύθευται βροτοῖς,
ΚΡ. τί χρῆμ' ἐρωτᾷς, ὦ ξέν'; ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω.
ΙΩΝ. ἐκ γῆς πατρός σου πρόγονος ἐβλαστέν πατὴρ;
ΚΡ. Ἐριχθόνιός γε· τὸ δὲ γένος μ' οὐκ ὠφελεί.
ΙΩΝ. ἦ καὶ σφ' Ἀθάνα γῆθεν ἐξανείλετο;

270 KP εἰς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, οὐ τεκοῦσά νιν.

IQN δίδωσι δ', ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ νομίζεται;

KP Κέκροπός γε σφάζειν παισὶν οὐχ ὀρώμενον.

IQN ἤκουσα λύσαι παρθένους τεύχος θεᾶς.

KP τοιγὰρ θανοῦσαι σκόπελον ἤμαζαν πέτρας.

⁴ Apollodorus, iii, 14, 6 : Τοῦτον (Ἐριχθόνιον) οἱ μὲν Ἑφαίστου καὶ τῆς Κραναοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἀτθίδος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἑφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς, οὕτως. Ἀθηναῖα παρεγένετο πρὸς Ἑφαιστον, ὅπλα κατασκευάσαι θέλουσα. ὃ δὲ ἐγκαταλειμμένος ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ὤλισθε τῆς Ἀθηναῖς, καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἤρξατο. ἥ δὲ ἔφευγεν. ὥς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἦν γὰρ χωλὸς), ἐπειράτο συνελθεῖν. ἥ δὲ ὥς σώφρων καὶ παρθένος οὔσα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. ὃ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηθεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς. ἐκείνη δὲ μυσσαχθεῖσα ἐρίψατο ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον εἰς γῆν ἔρριψε. φευγούσης δὲ αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς γονῆς εἰς γῆν πεσούσης, Ἐριχθόνιος γίνεται. τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖα κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἔτρεφεν, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι· καὶ καταθεῖσα αὐτὸν εἰς κίστην Πανδρόσῃ τῇ Κέκροπος παρακατέθετο, ἀπειποῦσα τὴν κίστην ἀνοίγειν. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ τῆς Πανδρόσου ἠνοίγουσιν ὑπὸ περιεργίας, καὶ θεῶνται τῷ βρέφει παρεσπειραμένον δράκοντα· καὶ ὥς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν τοῦ δράκοντος, ὥς δὲ ἔνιοι, δι' ὀργὴν Ἀθηναῖς ἐμμανεῖς γενόμεναι κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως αὐτὰς ἔρριψαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τραφεῖς Ἐριχθόνιος ὑπ' αὐτῆς Ἀθηναῖς, ἐκβαλὼν Ἀμφικτύονα ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ξόανον τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἰδρύσατο, καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τὴν ἑορτὴν συνεστήσατο, καὶ Πραξιθέαν νηίδα νύμφην ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἧς παῖς Πανδίων ἐγενήθη.

⁵ Scholia in Iliadis B 547 :

Ἐρεχθῆος] Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀθηναίων, τοῦ καὶ Ἐριχθονίου καλουμένου, γεννηθέντος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἑφαίστου. οὗτος γὰρ ἐδίωκεν Ἀθηναῖαν ἐρῶν αὐτῆς, ἥ δὲ ἔφευγεν· ὥς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἦν γὰρ χωλὸς), ἐπειράτο συνελθεῖν· ἥ δὲ ὥς σώφρων καὶ παρθένος οὔσα οὐκ ἀνέσχετο. οὕτως ἀπεσπέρμηθεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς. ἥ δὲ μυσσαχθεῖσα, ἐρίψατο ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον ἔρριψεν εἰς γῆν· ὅθεν Ἐριχθόνιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδοθεὶς παῖς ἐκλήθη, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίου καὶ τῆς χθονός. ἱστορεῖ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἑκάλῃ.

⁶ Ovid, Metamorphoses, ii, 552 ffl. :

- - - nam tempore quodam

Pallas Erichthonium, prolem sine matre creatam,

Clauserat Actaeo texta de vimine cista,
 555 Virginibusque tribus gemino de Cecrope natis
 Et legem dederat, sua ne secreta viderent.
 Abdita fronde levi densa speculabar ab ulmo,
 Quid facerent. commissa duae sine fraude tuentur,
 Pandrosus atque Herse. timidas vocat una sorores
 560 Aglauros, nodosque manu diducit. et intus
 Infantemque vident apporetumque draconem.

⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii, 740 ff. :

740 Quae tenuit laevum, venientem prima notavit
 Mercurium nomenque dei scitarier ausa est
 Et causam adventus. cui sic respondit Atlantis
 Pleïonesque nepos : ' ego sum, qui iussa per auras
 Verba patris porto. pater est mihi Iuppiter ipse.
 745 Nec fingam causas : tu tantum fida sorori
 Esse velis prolisque meae matertera dici.
 Herse causa viae. faveas oramus amanti.'
 Aspicit hunc oculis isdem, quibus abdita nuper
 Viderat Aglaurus flavae secreta Minervae,
 750 Proque ministerio magni sibi ponderis aurum
 Postulat : interea tectis excedere cogit.

⁸ Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 166 :

Vulcanus Iovi ceterisque deis solia aurea ex adamante cum
 fecisset, Iuno cum sedisset, subito in aere pendere coepit. Quod
 cum ad Vulcanum missum esset, ut matrem quam ligaverat
 solveret, iratus quod de caelo praecipitatus erat negat se ma-
 trem ullam habere. Quem cum Liber Pater ebrium in concilio
 deorum adduxisset, pietati negare non potuit : tum optionem a
 Iove accepit, si quid ab iis petisset, impetraret. Tunc ergo
 Neptunus, quod Minervae erat infestus, instigavit Vulcanum
 Minervam petere in coniugium. Qua re impetrata, in thalamum
 cum venisset, Minerva monitu Iovis virginitatem suam armis
 defendit, interque luctandum ex semine eius quod in terram
 decidit, natus est puer, qui inferiorem partem draconis habuit ;
 quem Erichthonium ideo nominarunt, quod *ἔρις* Graece certatio

dicitur, *χθών* autem terra dicitur. Quem Minerva cum clam nutriret, dedit in cistula servandum Aglauro Pandroso et Hersae Cecropis filiabus. Hae cum cistulam aperuissent cornix indicavit; illae, a Minerva insania obiecta ipsae se in mare praecipitaverunt.

⁹ Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii, 13: Heniochus. Hunc nos Aurigam Latine dicimus nomine Erichthonium, ut Eratosthenes monstrat. quem Jupiter cum vidisset primum inter homines equos quadrigis iunxisse, admiratus est ingenium hominis, ad Solis inventa accessisse, quod is princeps quadrigis inter deos est usus. sed Erichthonius et quadrigas, ut ante diximus, et sacrificia Minervae, et templum in arce Atheniensium primum instituit. de cuius progenie Euripides ita dicit, Vulcanum Minervae pulchritudine corporis inductum, petisse ab ea, ut sibi nuberet, neque impetrasse. Et coepisse Minervam sese occultare in eodem loco, qui propter Vulcani amorem Hephaestius est appellatus. quo persecutum Vulcanum, ferunt coepisse ei vim adferre. et cum plenus cupiditatis ad eam ut complexui se applicaret ferretur, repulsus, effudit in terram voluptatem. Quo Minerva, pudore permota, pede pulverem iniecit. Ex hoc autem nascitur Erichthonius anguis, qui ex terra et eorum dissensione nomen possedit. Eum dicitur Minerva in cistella quadam ut mysteria contectum ad Erechthei filias detulisse, et his dedisse servandum; quibus interdixit, ne cistulam aperirent. Sed ut hominum est natura cupida, ut eo magis appetant quo interdicatur saepius, virgines cistellam aperuerunt, et anguem viderunt: quo facto, insania a Minerva iniecta, de arce Atheniensium se praecipitaverunt. Anguis autem ad Minervae clypeum confugit, et ab ea est educatus. Alii autem anguina tantum crura habuisse Erichthonium dixerunt, eumque primo tempore adulescentiae ludos Minervae Panathenaea fecisse, et ipsum quadrigis concurrisse, pro quibus factis inter sidera dicitur conlocatus.

¹⁰ Pausanias, i, 18, 2:

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς Ἑρσῇ καὶ Πανδρόσῃ δοῦναί φασιν Ἀθηναῖν Ἐριχθόνιον, καταθεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειποῦσαν ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν.

Πάνδροσον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι πείθεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δύο, ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ σφῶς τὴν κιβωτόν, μαίνεσθαί τε, ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον, αὐτὰς βῆσαι.

¹¹ Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, 9 : De iugo vero quadrigas soli, bigas lunae sanxerunt. Sed et

Primus Erichthonius cursus et quattuor ausus

Jungere equos, rapidusque rotis insistere victor (Verg. *Georg.* iii, 113). Erichthonius, Minervae et Vulcani filius, et quidem de caduca in terram libidine, portentum est daemonicum, immo diabolus ipse, non coluber.

¹² Philostratus, *Apollonii Vita*, vii, 24 :

ἑτέρον δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἦρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δομετιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἶη παῖς "σὺ μὲν ᾤθης" ἔφη "μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκεῖν παρθέον οὔσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἡγνόεις δ', οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίους ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε."

¹³ Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, i, 17 :

Nam cum Vulcanus deis arma fecisset, eique Iuppiter optionem dedisset praemii quod vellet postulandi, iurassetque, ut solebat, per infernam paludem se nihil negaturum, tum faber claudus Minervae nuptias postulavit. Hic Iuppiter Optimus Maximus tanta religione constrictus abnuere non potuit : Minervam tamen monuit repugnare, pudicitiamque defendere. Tum in illa collucatione Vulcanum in terram effudisse aiunt semen, unde sit Erichthonius natus ; idque illi nomen impositum ἀπὸ τῆς ἔριδος, καὶ χθονός, id est, ex certamine atque humo. Cur igitur virgo eum puerum cum dracone conclusum et obsignatum tribus virginibus Cecropidis commendavit ? Evidens, ut opinor, incestum, quod nullo modo possit colorari.

¹⁴ Lactantius, *Epitome* 9, 2 :

Ipsae illae virgines Minerva et Diana, num castae ? Unde igitur prosiluit Erichthonius ? Num in terram Vulcanus semen effudit, et inde homo tamquam fungus enatus est ? Quid haec significant, nisi incestum, quod poetae non audent confiteri ?

¹⁵ Probus on Vergil's *Georgics*, iii, 113 :

Erichthonius Electrae et Iovis filius fuit ; sed huius nunc

mentio non est, sed Attici, Vulcani filii et terrae. Cum cupiditate eius patris luctando invaluisse Minervae per certamina natus est, a terra et a certamine Erichthonius dictus. Primus autem dicitur quadrigis usus, quo decentius celaret pedes anguinos suos.

Servius on Vergil's *Georgics*, iii, 113: Primus Erichthonius; Vulcanus impetrato a Iove Minervae coniugio, illa reluctante, effectum libidinis proiecit in terram: inde natus est puer draconteis pedibus, qui appellatus est Erichthonius, quaside terra et lite procreatus. Nam *ἔρως* est lis, *χθών* terra. Hic ad tegendam pedum foeditatem, innectis equis, usus est curru, quo tegeret sui corporis turpitudinem.

Servius on Vergil's *Georgics*, i, 205: Sane nonnulli hunc Auri-gam, Myrtilum, quem Pelops occidit, accipiunt, vel certe Erichthonium, qui natus est ex semine Vulcani, quod, dum stuprum Minervae inferre conaretur, fudit in terram.

Philargyrius on Vergil's *Georgics*, iii, 113: Erichthonius; Varro in, qui Admirabilium inscribitur, Erichthonium ait primum equos quattuor iunxisse ludis, qui Panathenaea appellantur. De hoc Erichthonio alibi satis dictum, qui anguinis pedibus fuisse memonatur.

¹⁶ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, 12:

Erichthonii regis Atheniensium, cuius novissimis annis Jesus Nave (Joshua, the son of Nun, *Ναυη*) mortuus reperitur, Vulcanus et Minerva parentes fuisse dicuntur. Sed quoniam Minervam virginem volunt, in amborum contentione Vulcanum commotum effudisse aiunt semen in terram, atque inde homini nato ob eam causam tale inditum nomen. Graeca enim lingua *ἔρως* contentio, *χθών* terra est; ex quibus duobus compositum vocabulum est Erichthonius. Verum, quod fatendum est, refellunt et a suis deis repellunt ista doctiores, qui hanc opinionem fabulosam hinc exortam ferunt, quia in templo Vulcani et Minervae, quod ambo unum habebant Athenis, expositus inventus est puer dracone involutus, qui eum significavit magnum futurum, et propter commune templum, cum essent parentes eius ignoti, Vulcani et Minervae dictum esse filium. Nominis tamen eius originem fabula illa potius quam ista designat historia.

¹⁷ Pausanias, i, 14, 6 :

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασιλείον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀγαλμά οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐπιούμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον.

¹⁸ Lactantius Placidus, Narrationes Fabularum, ii, 12 :

Athenis virgines per sollemne sacrificium canistris Minervae ferunt pigmenta : inter quas a Mercurio eminens specie conspecta est Herse Cecropis filia. Itaque adgressus est sororem eius Aglauron, precatusque, ut se Hersae sorori suae iungeret. At illa cum pro ministerio aurum eum poposcisset, Minerva graviter offensa est avaritia eius, ob quam cistulam etiam traditam sororibus eius custodiendam adversus suum praedictum aperuisset : Invidiae novissime imperavit eam sororis Herses exacerbare fortunio : diuque excruciatam saxo mutavit.

¹⁹ Fulgentius, Mythologiae, ii, 14 :

De Vulcano et Minerva.

Vulcanus cum Iovi fulmen efficeret, ab Iove promissum accepit, ut quidquid vellet praesumeret. Ille Minervam in coniugium petivit. Iupiter imperavit, ut Minerva armis virginitatem defendisset. Dumque cubiculum introirent, certando Vulcanus semen in pavementum eiecit, unde natus est Erichthonius. *ἔρις* enim Graece certamen dicitur, *χθὼν* *χθονὸς* vero terra nuncupatur : quem Minerva in cistam abscondidit, draconeque custode adposito, duabus sororibus Aglauro et Pandora commendavit, qui primus currum reperit. Vulcanum dici voluerunt, quasi furiae ignem : unde et Vulcanus dicitur, veluti voluntatis calor. Denique Iovi fulgura facit, id est, furorem concitat. Ideo vero eum Minervae coniungi voluerunt, quod furor etiam sapientibus subrepat. Illa vero armis virginitatem defendit : hoc est, omnis sapientia integritatem suorum morum contra furiam virtute animi vindicat. Unde quidem Erichthonius nascitur : *ἔρις* enim Graece certamen dicitur, *χθὼν* vero non solum terra, quantum etiam invidia dici potest. Unde et Thales Milesius ait : ὁ *χθὼν* *δόξης* *κοσμικῆς* *στέρησις*, id est, invidia mundanae gloriae consumptio. Et quidam aliud subripiens furor sapientiae generare poterat, nisi certamen invidiae ? Quod quidem sapientia, id est, Minerva, abscondidit in

cista, id est in corde celat. Omnis enim sapiens, furorem suum in corde celat. Ergo Minerva draconem custodem adponit, id est perniciem : quem quidem duabus commendat virginibus, id est Aglauro et Pandora. Pandora enim universale dicitur munus. Aglauro vero, quasi ἀχόληθον, id est tristitiae oblivio. Sapiens enim dolorem suum aut benignitati commendat, quae omnium munus est : aut oblivioni, sicut de Caesare dictum est : *Qui oblivisci nihil amplius soles, quam iniurias*. Denique cum Erichthonius adoleret, quid invenisse dicitur? Nihilominus currum, ubi semper certamen est. Unde Vergilius : *Primus Erichthonius currus, et quatuor ausus iungere equos*. Inspecite, quantum valeat cum sapientia iuncta castitas, cui flammaram non praevaluit deus.

²⁰ Scholia Bernensia ad Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica (Georgica iii, 113) :

Erichthonius. Ut Gaudentius dicit, de Vulcano et Minerva reluctante et libidinem proiciente in terram, puer draconteis pedibus quasi de Terra et Lite procreatur ; huic ad tegendam pedum foeditatem iunctis equis usus est curru, quo tegeret sui corporis turpitudinem.

²¹ Etymologicon Magnum, s. v. Ἐρεχθεύς : ὁ Ἐπιχθόνιος καλούμενος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσπᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν ἔραν· ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρέξεως τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐρείκω, Ἐρεχθεὺς κύριον· παρὰ τὸ διασχίσαι αὐτὸν τὴν γῆν καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἡφαίστου, ἥνίκα ἔκρυψεν αὐτὸ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὃ αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται καὶ Ἐριχθόνιος.

Ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος ἀποκυῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἶδείτο συνεργοῦ τοῦ πλήξοντος τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἵνα ἀποκυθῇ· καὶ δὴ λόγους προσφέρει τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ περὶ τούτου. Ὁ δὲ Ἡφαιστος οὐκ ἄλλως εἴλετο σχίσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός, εἰ μὴ τὴν γεννημένην διαπαρθευσεῖ· καὶ ἡνέσχετο ὁ Ζεὺς. Καὶ λαβὼν τὴν βουπλήγα, τέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ἐπιδίωκεν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἡφαιστος, ἵνα συγγένηται· καὶ ἐπιδιώκων, ἀπεσπέρμηκεν εἰς τὸν μηρὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ, λαβοῦσα ἔριον, ἐξέμαξε τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ ἔρριπεν ἐν τῇ γῇ· καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐρίου ἄνθρωπος δρακοντόπους, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Ἐριχθόνιος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίου καὶ τῆς χθονὸς λαβὼν τὸ ὄνομα τούτου.

²² Scholiast on Plato's *Timaeus*, 426 :

Γῆς τε καὶ Ἑφαιστου] Ζεὺς Μῆτιδι συνελθὼν καὶ γενομένην ἔγκυνον κατα-
πίνει, ἐπεὶ περ ἔλεγε παῖδα γεννήσειν μετὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννᾶσθαι
κόρην, ὃς δυναστεύσει οὐρανοῦ. ὥς δ' ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ταύτης ἐνέστη γεννήσεως,
δεῖται Ἑφαιστου πρὸς τοῦτο συνεργοῦ, ὥς κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς πλήξειεν αὐτόν·
ἐπὶ ταύτης γὰρ ἐκνοφόρει τὸ ἔμβρυον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ὑπακούσας κατέ-
νευσεν, εἰ μὴ τῇ γεννωμένῃ συγχωρηθεῖη συνελθεῖν εἰς εὐνήν. ὑποστάντος
δὲ τοῦ Διός, πελέκει τούτου τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἑφαιστος πλήττει. καὶ γεννᾶται
μὲν οὕτως ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶ, ἐπιδιώκων δὲ αὐτὴν Ἑφαιστος ἀποσπερμαίνει
μὲν εἰς τὸν ταύτης μηρόν, ἥ δὲ λαβοῦσα ἔριον τὸ σπέρμα ἐξέμαξεν, ἔρριψέ
τε εἰς γῆν. καὶ οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίου καὶ τῆς χθονὸς δρακοντόπους ἄνθρωπος
ἐγένετο, Ἑριχθόνιος τοῦνομα. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐνταῦθά φησιν, ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι
τοῦτον λέγουσι γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐτόχθονα.

²³ *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 359–60 :

The same as *Etymologicum Magnum*²¹ beginning ὁ Ζεὺς βουλό-
μενος, with one or two slight changes in the word order.

²⁴ *Eudocia, Violarium*, p. 7, I° :

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, παρθένος οὔσα, τίκει δράκοντα.

Τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν βουλόμενος ὁ Ζεὺς ἀποκυῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ, ἵνα
κυνθείη, λόγους προσφέρει τῷ Ἑφαιστῷ περὶ τούτου. ὁ δὲ Ἑφαιστος οὐκ
ἄλλως εἴλετο σχίσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός, εἰ μὴ τὴν γεννωμένην ἀποπαρθε-
νεύσει. καὶ ἠνέσχετο ὁ Ζεὺς· καὶ λαβὼν ὁ Ἑφαιστος τὸν βουπλήγα, τέμνει
τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός. καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ἐπιδίωκεν αὐτὴν ὁ
Ἑφαιστος, ἵνα αὐτῇ συγγένηται, καὶ ἐπιδιώκων ἀπεσπέρμηκεν εἰς τὸν μηρόν
τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ λαβοῦσα ἔριον, ἐξέμαξε τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐν
τῇ γῇ· καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐρίου ἄνθρωπος δρακοντόπους, ὃς
καλεῖται Ἑριχθόνιος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίου καὶ τῆς χθονὸς λαβὼν τοῦνομα.

²⁵ *Eudocia, Violarium*, p. 151, CCCL :

Περὶ τοῦ Ἑρεχθεως.

Ἑρεχθεὺς υἱὸς Ἑφαιστου μυθεύεται παρὰ τὸ διασχίσαι αὐτὸν τὴν γῆν καὶ
γεννηθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἑφαιστου, ἡνίκα ἔκρυψεν αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν
τῇ γῇ· ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐρέχθω, τὸ κινῶ. ἡ δὲ μυθοποιΐα ἐστὶν αὕτη. Then
follows exactly the passage quoted under p. 7, I°.

²⁶ *Eudocia, Violarium*, p. 159, CCCLV :

Περὶ Ἑριχθονίου.

Ἑριχθόνιος Ἑφαιστου υἱὸς λέγεται καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Βρονταίου θυγατρός,

τῆς καὶ Βελονίκης καλουμένης· πολλὰ γὰρ Ἀθῆναι καὶ Ἀφροδίται καὶ οὐ μία, οὐδὲ μυθική, ὥς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων. ταύτῃ τοῖνον τῇ βασιλίδι Ἥφαιστος γάμφυ μίγεις γεννᾷ τὸν Ἐριχθόιον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀττικής. ὥς δὲ τισιν ἱστορεῖται, γηγενής· ἐκ τῆς Γῆς γάρ, ὥς φασιν, ἀνεδόθη, ὅθεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πάντας γηγενεῖς φάσκουσιν ἀπὸ τούτου. Ἀθηναῖν γὰρ ληροῦσιν ἐλθοῦσαν πρὸς Ἥφαιστον ἔνεκεν ὅπλων κατασκευῆς ἐρασθεὶς Ἥφαιστος ἐδίωκε. καταλαβὼν δέ, ὥς ἀντέπιπτεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηνᾶ, περὶ τοὺς μηροὺς ἐπεσπέρμηνεν. ἡ δὲ μυσσαχθεῖσα, ἐρίῳ εἰς γῆν τὸν γόνον ἀπέρριψεν. ἀνεδόθη δὲ ὁ Ἐριχθόιος, ὁ καὶ Ἐρεχθεὺς λεγόμενος, κληθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίου καὶ τῆς χθονός· ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι φασίν, ὅτε ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ ἐνεργεία τοῦ Ἥφαιστου ἀπεκίνησε, καθὼς καὶ προεῖρηται.

²⁷ Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* i :

καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια ἄγουσι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ, αἱ ἐνομίσθησαν ἀσεβεῖν ἀνοίξασαι τὴν λάρνακα.

²⁸ Apollodorus, iii, 14, 2, 1-2 :

Κέκροψ δὲ γήμας τὴν Ἀκταίου κόρην Ἀγραυλον παῖδα μὲν ἔσχεν Ἐρυσίχθονα, ὃς ἄτεκνος μετήλλαξε, θυγατέρας δὲ Ἀγραυλον Ἔρσην Πάνδρσον. Ἀγραύλου μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἄρεος Ἀλκίππη γίνεται. ταύτην βιαζόμενος Ἀλιρρόβιος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ νύμφης Εὐρύτης ὑπὸ Ἄρεος φωραθεὶς κτείνεται. Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται, δικάζοντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἄρει, καὶ ἀπολύεται.

²⁹ Pausanias, i, 2, 6 :

Ἀκταῖον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀττικῇ βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίου· καὶ οἱ γίνονται θυγατέρες μὲν Ἔρση καὶ Ἀγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδρσος, υἱὸς δὲ Ἐρυσίχθων. οὗτος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔζῶντος τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Κέκροπος Κραναὸς ἐξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει προύχων.

³⁰ Euripides, *Ion*, 492 :

ὦ Πανὸς θακήματα καὶ
 παραυλίζουσα πέτρα
 μυχῶδεσι Μακραίς,
 ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσιν ποδοῖν
 Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι
 στάδια χλοερὰ πρὸ Παλλάδος

ναῶν, συρίγγων
 ὑπ' αἰόλας ἰαχᾶς
 ὕμνων, ὅταν αὐλίοις
 συρίζῃς, ὦ Πάν.

³¹ Suidas, s. v. Φοινικήϊα γράμματα. - - - Σκάμμων δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν εὐρημάτων ἀπὸ Φοινίκης τῆς Ἀκταίωνος ὀνομασθῆναι. μυθεύεται δ' οὗτος ἀρσένων μὲν παίδων ἅπαις. γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ θυγατέρας Ἄγλαυρον, Ἑρσην, Πάνδροσον· τὴν δὲ Φοινίκην ἔτι παρθένον οὖσαν τελευτήσῃαι.

³² Scholia in Iliadis A 334 :

Διὸς ἄγγελος] ἄστυλον γὰρ καὶ θεῖον τὸ γένος τῶν κηρύκων. Ἑρμῆς γὰρ μιγείς Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ ἔσχε παῖδα ὀνόματι Κήρυκα, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ τῶν κηρύκων γένος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πτολεμαῖος.

³³ Pollux, viii, 103 :

Κῆρυξ ὁ μὲν τις τῶν μυστικῶν, ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πανδρόσου τῆς Κέκροπος, ὃ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πομπάς, ἐκ τοῦ Εὐνειδῶν γένους, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀγορὰν τὰ ὦνια προκηρύττοντες.

³⁴ Scholia in Aeschinis κατὰ Τιμάρχου, i, 20 :

κηρυκευσάτω] ἄξιον ἀπορεῖν· τὸ γὰρ τῶν Κηρύκων γένος πρόσθεν ἦν ἱερόν. καὶ οὕτω λέγονται Κήρυκες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὄντες. δεῖ δὲ λέγειν ὅτι τῷ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἀπαγορεύει κηρυκεῖν, ἂν τι πάθῃ. Ἄλλως. Κηρύκων ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀθήναις γένη τέσσαρα, πρῶτον τὸ τῶν πανάγων, οἳ εἰσιν ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πανδρόσου τῆς Κέκροπος, δεύτερον τὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, τρίτον τὸ τῶν περὶ τὰς πομπάς, τέταρτον τὸ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ τὰ ὦνια.

³⁵ Pausanias, i, 38, 3 :

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Εὐμόλπου Κῆρυξ νεώτερος λείπεται τῶν παίδων, ὃν αὐτοὶ Κήρυκες θυγατρὸς Κέκροπος Ἀγλαύρου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐμόλπου.

³⁶ Hesychius, s. v. Κήρυκες :

οἱ ἄγγελοι, οἱ διάκονοι, οἱ τὰς ὑπηρετικὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες πράξεις. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ γένος ἰθαγενῶν, ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. Φανίας. καὶ τοὺς ἐρινάζοντας τοὺς ἐρινοὺς κήρυκας λέγουσι.

³⁷ Harpocration, s. v. Κήρυκες :

Ἰσοκράτης Πανηγυρικῶ. γένος ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀθήναις οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον, κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ.

³⁷ Suidas, s. v. Κήρυκες. :

γένος ἐν Ἀθήναις, ὀνομασμένον ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ.

³⁸ Apollodorus, iii, 14, 3 :

Ἑρσης δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Κέφαλος, οὗ ἐρασθεῖσα Ἡὼς ἥρπασε καὶ μιγεῖσα ἐν Συρίᾳ παῖδα ἐγέννησε Τιθωνόν.

³⁹ C. I. G., 6280 B. II. 30-33 :

οὗ μιν ὁ[ν]όσσηται, καὶ Κεκροπίδην περ ἑόντα,

Τυρσηνῶν ἀρχαῖον ἐπισφύριον [γ]έρας ἀνδρῶν,

Ἑρσης ἐκεγαῶτα καὶ Ἑρμέω, εἰ ἐτεδὸν δὴ

Κῆρυξ Ἑρῳδεω πρόγονος Θησηΐαδαο.

⁴⁰ C. I. A., i, 5. A fragment from Eleusis :

Ἑρμῇ ἐναγωνίῳ, Χάρισιν αἶγα - - Ἀρτέμιδι αἶγα.

⁴¹ Pausanias, vi, 22, 7 :

Ἀπέχει δὲ ὡς πεντήκοντα Ὀλυμπίας σταδίους κόμη τε Ἡλείων Ἡράκλεια καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ Κύθηρος ποταμός· πηγὴ δὲ ἐκδιδοῦσα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. Ὀνόματα δὲ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐκάστη τῶν νυμφῶν Καλλιφάεια, καὶ Συνάλλαξις καὶ Πηγαία τε καὶ Ἰασίς, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ κλησίς Ἰωνίδες. Λυομένοις δὲ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ καμάτων τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλγημάτων παντοίων ἰάματα. Καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας ἀπὸ Ἰωνος λέγουσι τοῦ Γαργηττοῦ, μετοικήσαντος ἐνταῦθα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.

⁴² Strabo, viii, 356 :

ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Σαλμώνης Ἡράκλεια, καὶ αὕτη μία τῶν ὀκτώ, διέχουσα περὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίους τῆς Ὀλυμπίας, κειμένη δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κυθήριον ποταμὸν, οὗ τὸ τῶν Ἰωνιδῶν νυμφῶν ἱερὸν τῶν πεπιστευμένων θεραπεύειν νόσους τοῖς ὕδασι.

⁴³ Pausanias, i, 30, 4 :

Δείκνυται δὲ καὶ χῶρος καλούμενος Κολωνὸς ἵππιος. - - καὶ βωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας.

⁴⁴ Scholion in Lycophrontis Alexandram, 766 :

Μέλαιθος ὁ Ποσειδῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους· Ἰππηγέτης δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς παρὰ Δηλίοις.

⁴⁵ Pausanias, iii, 14, 2. (in Sparta) :

Θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἴπποκουρίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰγιναιάς.

⁴⁶ Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, x. (1886), 367 ; an inscription from Elatea : Ποντίῳ ἱππομέδοντι Ποσειδῶνι Χρόνου υἱεῖ.

⁴⁷ Vergil, Aeneid, i, 441-445.

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,
quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
monstraret, caput acris equi : sic nam fore bello
egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.

⁴⁸ Pausanias, i, 14, 7 :

Δῆμος δέ ἐστιν Ἀθηναίους Ἀθμονέων, οἱ Πορφυρίωνα ἔτι πρότερον
Ἀκταίου βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Οὐρανίας φασὶ τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι.
Λέγουσι δὲ ἀνὰ τοὺς δῆμους καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες.

⁴⁹ Pausanias, viii, 25, 4-6 :

Τῇ θεῷ δὲ Ἐρινὺς γέγονεν ἐπικλησις· πλανωμένη γὰρ τῇ Δήμητρι, ἥνίκα
τὴν παῖδα ἐξήτει, λέγουσιν ἔπεσθαί οἱ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐπιθυμοῦντα αὐτῇ
μιχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐς ἵππον μεταβαλοῦσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἵπποις νέμεσθαι ταῖς
Ὅγκου, Ποσειδῶν δὲ συνήρσιν ἀπατῶμενος, καὶ συγγίνεται τῇ Δήμητρι
ἄρσενι ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκασθείς· τὸ μὲν δὴ παραντίκα τὴν Δήμητρα ἐπὶ τῷ
συμβάντι ἔχειν ὀργίλως, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ τε θυμοῦ παύσασθαι καὶ τῷ
Λάδωνι ἐτελῆσαι φασιν αὐτὴν λούσασθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπικλήσεις τῇ
θεῷ γεγόνασι, τοῦ μηνίματος μὲν ἕνεκα Ἐρινύς, ὅτι τὸ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι
καλοῦσιν ἐρινύνειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, Λουσσία δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λούσασθαι τῷ Λάδωνι.

⁵⁰ Isocrates, Panathenaicus 193 : Ὁρᾶκες μὲν γὰρ μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ
Ποσειδῶνος εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, ὃς ἡμφισβήτησεν Ἐρεχθεὶ τῆς
πόλεως, φάσκων Ποσειδῶ πρότερον Ἀθηνᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτήν.

⁵¹ Hesychius, s. v. :

Ἐρεχθεύς. Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις.

⁵² Lycophron, Alexandra, 156-160 :

ὃν δὴ δις ἡβήσαντα, καὶ βαρὺν πόθον
φνυγόντα Ναυμέδοντος ἀρπακτήριον,
ἔσται Ἐρεχθεύς εἰς Λετριναίους γνάς
λευρὰν ἀλετρεύσοντα Μόλπιδος πέτραν,
τοῦ Ζηνὶ δαιτρευθέντος Ὀμβρίφ δέμας.

Ibidem, 431-2 :

τὸν δ' αὖ τέταρτον ἐγγόνων Ἐρεχθέως,
Αἴθωνος ἀντάδελφον ἐν πλασταῖς γραφαῖς.

⁵⁸ Apollodorus, iii, 15, 1 :

Πανδίωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τὰ πατρῷα ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν Ἐρεχθεὺς λαμβάνει, τὴν δὲ ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἐριχthonίου Βούτης.

⁵⁴ C. I. A., i, 387 :

Ἐπιτέλης Οἰνοχάρης Σφναύτου Περγασῆθεν Ποσειδῶνι Ἐρεχθεὶ ἀνεθέτην.

⁵⁵ C. I. A., iii, 276 :

Ἱερέως Ποσειδῶνος Γαιηόχου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως.

⁵⁶ C. I. A., iii, 805 :

Γά. Ἰούλιον Σπαρτιατικὸν ἀρχιερέα θε[ῶν] Ξεβαστῶν κ[αὶ γέ]νους Σε[β]αστῶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινου[ῦ] τῇ[ς] Ἀχαΐας διὰ βίου πρῶτον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ ἱερεὺς Ποσειδῶν[ος] Ἐρεχθέος Γαιηόχου Τι. Κλαύδιος Θεογένη[ς] Παιαμιεὺς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον.

⁵⁷ Pausanias, i, 26, 5 :

Ἑσελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεὶ θύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου. Γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τοῦ Βουταδῶν.

⁵⁸ Aeschines, Paraprosbeia, 147 :

Ἐτεοβουτάδαις, . . . ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος ἐστὶν ἱέρεια.

⁵⁹ Pausanias, i, 17, 3 :

Μίνως ἡνίκα Θησέα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον τῶν παίδων ἤγεν ἐς Κρήτην, ἐρασθεὶς Περιβοίας, ὥς οἱ Θησεὺς μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀπέρριψεν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδα οὐκ ἔφη Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν σφραγίδα, ἣν αὐτὸς φέρων ἔτυχεν, ἀφέντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνασῶσαί οἱ.

⁶⁰ Pausanias, i, 38, 2 :

τοῦτον τὸν Εὐμολπον ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θρακῆς Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα ὄντα καὶ Χιόνης.

⁶¹ Apollodorus, iii, 15, 4 :

Χιόνῃ δὲ Ποσειδῶνι μίγνυται. ἥ δὲ κρύφα τοῦ πατρὸς Εὐμολπον τεκοῦσα, εἶνα μὴ γένηται καταφανής, εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ῥίπτει τὸ παιδίον. Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἀνελόμενος εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν κομίζει καὶ δίδωσι Βενθεσικύμῃ τρέφειν, αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης.

⁶² Lycurgus, 98 :

Φασὶ γὰρ Εὐμολπον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Χιόνης μετὰ Θρακῶν ἐλθεῖν τῆς

χώρας ταύτης ἀμφισβητοῦντα, τυχεῖν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους βασιλεύοντα Ἐρεχθέα, γυναικα ἔχοντα Πραξιθέαν τὴν Κηφισοῦ θυγατέρα.

⁶³ Homer, *Iliad*, B 547 :

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐνκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
 δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγάλῃτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
 θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα.

⁶⁴ Euripides, *Ion*, 1004-1009 :

ΠΑΙ. ἰσχὺν ἔχοντας τίνα πρὸς ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ;
 1005 ΚΡ. τὸν μὲν θανάσιμον, τὸν δ' ἀκεσφόρον νόσων.
 ΠΑΙ. ἐν τῷ καθάψασ' ἀμφὶ παιδὶ σώματος ;
 ΚΡ. χρυσοῖσι δεσμοῖς· ὃ δὲ δίδωσ' ἐμῷ πατρί.
 ΠΑΙ. κείνου δὲ κατθανόντος εἰς σ' ἀφίκετο ;
 ΚΡ. ναί· κατὰ καρπῷ γ' αὐτ' ἐγὼ χερὸς φέρω.

⁶⁵ Pausanias, i, 24, 7 :

ἐν δὲ τῇ (ἐτέρᾳ) χεὶρὶ δόρυ ἔχει, καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀσπίς τε κῆται, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἷη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων.

⁶⁶ Aristophanis *Lysistrata*, 1. 758-9 :

ΓΥ. Γ. ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι ἄγω· οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθ' ἐν πόλει,
 ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρόν ποτε.

Scholiast, 1. c. : ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον : τὸν ἱερὸν δράκοντα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν φύλακα τοῦ ναοῦ.

⁶⁷ Herodotus, viii, 41 : Λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐνδιατᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. Λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες. τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἔστι. αὕτη δὴ ἡ μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμονυμένη τότε ἦν ἄψαντος.

⁶⁸ Plutarch, *Themistocles*, x :

σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃς ἀφανὴς ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας ἀπαρχὰς εὐρίσκοντες ἀψαύστους οἱ ἱερεῖς.

⁶⁹ Hesychius, s. v. : δράκαυλος ἐπειδὴ δοκεῖ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐλίσαι τὸν δράκοντα. Σοφοκλῆς *Τυμπανισταῖς*. ἥ ὅτι συνέστη Κέκροπι. [ἥ ὅτι εἰς δράκοντα μετεμορφώθη].

Hesychius, s. v. οἰκουρόν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα δράκοντα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔνα φασίν, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως, τοῦτον δὲ φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεως φασίν(ν), ᾧ καὶ μελιτοῦτταν παρατίθεται.

⁷⁰ Suidas, s. v. Δράκαυλος :

Σοφοκλῆς Τυμπανισταῖς. ἐπεὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ δοκεῖ παρ' αὐταῖς αὐλίσαι τὸν δράκοντα ταῖς Κέκροπος θυγατράσι. ὅτι συναυλίζονται κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς Κέκροπι ὄντι διφυεῖ. ὅτι συναυλίζεται μία τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει δράκοντι, προσημερεύουσα τῇ θεῷ.

⁷¹ Photius, s. v. : οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα· καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· Φύλαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο.

⁷² Eustathius on Homer's *Odyssey*, i, 357, p. 1422, l. 7 fl. :

Οἱ φασιν, ὡς ἐκείθεν καὶ οἰκουρὸς δράκων φύλαξ τῆς Πολιάδος. ἤγουν ἐν τῷ νεῷ Πολιάδος διαιτώμενος. ὁ τινὲς προπερισπῶσι καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ μῶρος, ἵνα ἡ οἰκῦρος ὡς μῶρος.

⁷³ Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii, 17, Νῆσοι, p. 837 :

καὶ ὁ δράκων δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν ἀκροπόλει οἰκῶν δοκεῖ μοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀσπάσασθαι δῆμον ἐπὶ τῷ χρυσῷ, ὃν ἐκείνοι τέττιγας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐποιούντο.

⁷⁴ Pausanias, vi, 20, 2 :

ἔστιν . . . ἱερὸν Εἰλειθυίας, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Σωσίπολις Ἡλείοις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἔχει τιμάς. τὴν μὲν δὴ Εἰλείθυιαν ἐπονομάζοντες Ὀλυμπίαν ἱερασομένην αἰροῦνται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον· ἡ δὲ πρεσβύτες ἡ θεραπεύουσα τὸν Σωσίπολιν νόμῳ τε ἀγιστεύει τῷ Ἡλείῳ καὶ αὐτῇ, λουτρά τε ἐσφέρει τῷ θεῷ καὶ μάζας κατατίθουσιν αὐτῷ μεμαγμένας μέλιτι.

⁷⁵ Pausanias, vi, 20, 4-5 :

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν ἐσβεβληκότων στρατιῶν, καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων σφίσιν ἀντικαθημένων, γυναῖκα ἀφικομένην παρὰ τῶν Ἡλείων τοὺς στρατηγούς, νήπιον παῖδα ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῷ, λέγειν ὡς τέκοι μὲν αὐτὴ τὸν παῖδα, διδοίη δὲ ἐξ ὀνειράτων συμμαχήσοντα Ἡλείοις. Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, πιστὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἡγούντο εἰρηκέναι, τιθέασιν τὸ παιδίον πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος γυμνόν. Ἐπῆρσάν τε δὴ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐνταῦθα ἤδη δράκων ἦν· παραχθείσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θεάματι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπέκειντο οἱ Ἡλείοι, καὶ νίκην τε ἐπιφανεστάτην ἀνείλοντο καὶ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ τίθενται Σωσίπολιν. ἔνθα δὲ σφισιν ὁ δράκων ἔδοξεν ἐσδύναι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν ἐνταῦθα· σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ σέβεσθαι καὶ τὴν Εἰλείθυιαν ἐνόμισαν, ὅτι τὸν παῖδά σφισιν ἡ θεὸς αὕτη προήγαγεν ἐς ἀνθρώπους.

⁷⁶ Strabo, ix, 393 :

Ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἐτέροις ὀνόμασι τὸ παλαιόν· καὶ γὰρ Σκιρὰς καὶ Κύχρεια ἀπὸ τινων ἡρώων, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν Ἀθηνᾶ τε λέγεται Σκιρὰς καὶ τόπος Σκίρα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ ἱεροποιία τις καὶ ὁ μὴν ὁ Σκιροφοριών· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ Κυχρεΐδης ὄφεις, ὃν φησιν Ἡσίοδος τραφέντα ὑπὸ Κυχρέως ἐξελαθῆναι ὑπὸ Εὐρύλοχον λυμαινόμενον τὴν νῆσον, ὑποδέξασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τὴν Δήμητρα εἰς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ γενέσθαι ταύτης ἀμφίπολον. ὠνομάσθη δὲ καὶ Πιτυοῦσσα ἀπὸ τοῦ φυτοῦ.

⁷⁷ Pausanias, i, 36, 1 :

Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν. Ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι· τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἀθηναίους Κυχρέα εἶναι τὸν ἥρωα.

⁷⁸ Plutarch, Cleomenes, xxxix :

καὶ τοῦτο κατιδόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μάλιστα τῶν ζώων τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς ἥρωσι συνψεύσαν.

⁷⁹ Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxix, 52 :

Praeterea est ovorum genus in magna fama Galliarum, omissum Graecis. Angues enim numerose convoluti salivis faucium corporumque spumis artifice complexu glomerant ; urinum appellatur. Druidae sibilis id dicunt in sublime iactari sagoque oportere intercipi, ne tellurem attingat ; profugere raptorem equo, serpentes enim insequi, donec arceantur amnis alicuius interventu ; experimentum eius esse, si contra aquas fluitet vel auro vinctum ; atque, ut est Magorum sollertia occultandis fraudibus sagax, certa luna capiendum censent, tamquam congruere operationem eam serpentium humani sit arbitrii.

⁸⁰ Pausanias, iv, 14, 7-8 :

. . . Ἀριστομένης, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις τιμάς. καὶ οἱ καὶ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπιφανέστερα ὑπάρξαι νομίζουσι· Νικοτελεία γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ δαίμονα ἢ θεὸν δράκοντι εἰκασμένον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδάμῳ Σικωνίους οἶδα εἰρηκότας. διάφορα δὲ τοσόνδε ἦν· Μεσσήνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐσποιοῦσιν Ἀριστομένην Ἡρακλεῖ παῖδα ἢ Δίῃ, ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀμμωνι οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἄρατον Ἀσκληπιῷ Σικυνίοι.

⁸¹ Suidas, s. v. Κέκροψ :

- - - ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἔτυχε μισγομένων ταῖς γυναῖξί, καὶ ἐκ τούτου μὴ γνωσκομένου ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς, αὐτὸς νόμους θέμενος, ὥστε φανερώς συγγίνεσθαι αὐταῖς, καὶ μιᾷ στοιχεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν εὐρὼν τὰς δύο φύσεις τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρός, εἰκότως διφυῆς ἐκλήθη.

⁸² Harpocration, s. v. Παναθήναια : διττὰ Παναθήναια ἤγετο Ἀθήνησι, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἑνιαυτόν, τὰ δὲ διὰ πεντητηρίδος, ἅπερ καὶ μεγάλα ἐκάλουν. . . . ἤγαγε δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πρῶτος Ἐριχθόνιος ὁ Ἐφαιστος, καθὰ φησιν Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Ἀνδροτίων, ἐκάτερος ἐν α' Ἀθθίδος. πρὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθήναια ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δεδήλωκεν Ἰστρος ἐν γ' τῶν Ἀττικῶν.

⁸³ Lucian, Nigrinus, 53 :

ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Παναθηναίων· ληφθέντα μὲν γάρ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀγεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην ὅτι βαπτὸν ἔχων ἱμάτιον ἐθεώρει.

⁸⁴ Harpocration, s. v. Ἀποβάτης, καὶ ἀποβαίνειν, καὶ ἀποβατικοὶ τροχοί :

Δείναρχος κατὰ Φορμισίου καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφάνην ἀπολογία, Λυκοῦργός τε ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δημάδην ἀπολογία. ὁ ἀποβάτης ἱππικόν τι ἀγώνισμα, καὶ ἀποβῆναι τὸ ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν ἀποβάτην, καὶ ἀποβατικοὶ τροχοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος. τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ γινόμενα δηλοῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ κ' τῶν νόμων. χρῶνται δὲ φησι τούτῳ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοί.

⁸⁵ Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 13 :

Ἡνίοχος. Τοῦτον λέγουσιν, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς ἰδὼν πρῶτον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἄρμα ζεύξαντα ἵππων, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἐριχθόνιος ἐξ Ἐφαιστος καὶ Γῆς γενόμενος, καὶ θαυμάσας ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Ἥλιου ἀντίμimon ἐποιήσατο διφρεῖαν ὑποζεύξας ἵππους λευκοὺς. - - - πρῶτόν τε Ἀθηνᾶ πομπὴν ἤγαγεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιφανῇ τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῆς σεμνύνων. λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· Ἐφαιστον ἐρασθέντα Ἀθηναῖς βούλεσθαι αὐτῇ μιγῆναι, τῆς δὲ ἀποστρεφόμενης καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν μᾶλλον αἰρουμένης ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κρύπτεσθαι, ὃν λέγουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι Ἐφαισεῖον· ὃς δόξας αὐτὴν κρατήσειν καὶ ἐπιθέμενος πληγαῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῷ δόρατι ἀφῆκε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, φερομένης εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς σπορᾶς· ἐξ ἧς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι παῖδα, ὃς ἐκ τούτου Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκλήθη, καὶ αὐξήθεις τοῦθ' εὗρε καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ἀγωνιστὴς γενόμενος· ἤγαγε δὲ ἐπιμελῶς

τὰ Παναθήναια, καὶ ἄρμα ἡνιόχει ἔχων παραβάτην ἀσπίδιον ἔχοντα καὶ τριλοφίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ κατὰ μίμησιν ὁ καλούμενος ἀποβάτης.

⁸⁶ Aristides, Panathenaïcus, 107 :

καὶ ζεύγνυσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ὁ τῇσδε τῆς θεοῦ πάρεδρος ἄρμα τέλειον σὺν τῇ θεῷ καὶ φαίνει πᾶσι τὴν τελείαν ἱππικὴν.

Scholion in Aristidis Panathenaïcum, ed. Dind., 3, 62 :

ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀπίσω αὐτῆς (τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς) γέγραπται ἄρμα ἐλαύνων, ὡς πρῶτος τοῦτο τῆς θεοῦ δεξάμενος, ἐπειδὴ τρόπον τινὰ υἱὸς αὐτῆς ἐδόκει.

⁸⁷ Themistius, Oratio, 27, 337 a :

Καίτοι καὶ ἵππων ἄρμα ὑπ' Ἐρεχθέως πρῶτον ζευχθῆναι λέγεται.

⁸⁸ Stephanus Byzantius, s. v. Ἀγραυλή: δῆμος Ἀθήνησι τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος φυλῆς. τινὲς δὲ Ἀγρυλὴ γράφουσιν ἄνευ τοῦ α, Ἀγρυλῆθεν. θέλει δὲ τὸ α ἀπὸ Ἀγραύλου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς. τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐξόντων τοὺς καρποὺς ὀνομασμένοι, Πάνδροσος, Ἔρση, Ἀγραυλος.

⁸⁹ Hesychius, s. v. : ἄγραυλοι· οἱ ἐν ἀγρῷ νυκτερεύοντες.

ἀγραύλοιο· ἐν ἀγροῖς αὐλιζόμενον.

ἄγραυλον· ὕπαιθρον, καὶ ἔρημον. ἡ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐλιζόμενον. ἡ καπυρόν.

ἀγραυλῶ· τὸ . . . ἐνθήρῃ τόπῳ καὶ πλήρει ἀγρευμάτων.

⁹⁰ Porphyrius, De Abstinencia, II, 54 :

ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν Σαλαμῖνι, πρότερον δὲ Κορωνίδι ὀνομαζομένη, μηνὶ κατὰ Κυπρίου Ἀφροdisίῳ ἐθύετο ἄνθρωπος τῇ Ἀγραύλῃ τῇ Κέκροπος καὶ νύμφης Ἀγραυλίδος. καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἔθος ἄχρι τῶν Διομήδους χρόνων· εἶτα μετέβαλεν, ὥστε τῷ Διομήδει τὸν ἄνθρωπον θύεσθαι· ὑφ' ἑνα δὲ περίβολον ὃ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὺς καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀγραύλου καὶ Διομήδους. ὁ δὲ σφαγιαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγόμενος τρεῖς περιθεῖ τὸν βωμόν· ἔπειτα ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἔπαιεν κατὰ τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖσαν πυρὰν ὠλοκαύτιζεν.

⁹¹ C. I. A., III, 372 :

Κουροτρόφου ἐξ Ἀγλαύρου Δήμη[τ]ρος.

⁹² C. I. G., 7716. Painted on a red-figure amphora :

Κέκρο[ψ]. Ἀγλαυρος. Ἐ[ρ]εχ[θ]ε[ύ]ς. [Ἐ]ρσ[η]. [ᾠ]ρεῖθ[υ]α]. Βορᾶς [Πά]νδροσος.

C. I. G., 7718. Fragment of a red-figure vase :

*Αγλαυρος.

⁹³ Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, iv, 16, 2 (155 c) :

2. ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν Σαλαμῖνι, πρότερον δὲ Κορωνεία ὀνομαζομένη, μηνὶ κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίῳ, ἐθύετο ἄνθρωπος τῇ Ἀγραύλῳ τῇ Κέκροπος καὶ νύμφης Ἀγραυλίδος. καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἔθος ἄχρι τῶν Διομήδους χρόνων· εἴτα μετέβαλεν, ὥστε τῷ Διομήδει τὸν ἄνθρωπον θύεσθαι· ὑφ' ἑνα δὲ περίβολον ὃ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς καὶ ὃ τῆς Ἀγραύλου καὶ Διομήδους. ὃ δὲ σφαγιαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγόμενος τρὶς περιέθει τὸν βωμόν· ἔπειτα ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἔπαιε κατὰ τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθείσαν πυρὰν ὠλοκαύτιζον. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεσμόν Δίφιλος ὁ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεὺς κατέλυσε, κατὰ τοὺς Σελεύκου χρόνους τοῦ θεολόγου γενόμενος, τὸ ἔθος εἰς βουθυσίαν μεταστήσας. προσήκατο δὲ ὁ δαίμων ἀντ' ἀνθρώπου τὸν βόυν.

⁹⁴ Eusebius, *De Laudibus Constantini*, 13, p. 646 b.

ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι ὑφ' ἑνα περίβολον Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀγραυλίδος καὶ Διομήδους ἔλανόμενός τις ἀνὴρ τρὶς περιέθει τὸν βωμόν, ἔπειτα ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἔπαιε κατὰ τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθείσαν πυρὰν ὠλοκαύτιζεν.

⁹⁵ *Scholia in Demosthenis* xix, 303 :

καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγραύλου] ἔστι μὲν μία τῶν Κέκροπος θυγατέρων ἡ Ἀγραυλος. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει αὐτῆς οἱ ἐξιόντες εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐκ παίδων μετὰ πανοπλιῶν ὥμνον ὑπερμαχεῖν ἄχρι θανάτου τῆς θρεψαμένης. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία αὕτη· Ἀγραυλος καὶ Ἑρση καὶ Πάνδροσος θυγατέρες Κέκροπος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Φιλόχορος. λέγουσι δὲ ὅτι, πολέμου συμβάντος παρ' Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε Εὐμόλπος ἐστράτευσεν κατὰ Ἑρεχθέως, καὶ μηχανομένου τούτου, ἔχρησεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι, εἴαν τις ἀνέλῃ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. ἡ τοίνυν Ἀγραυλος ἐκοῦσα αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκεν εἰς θάνατον· ἔρριψε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους. εἴτα ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ πολέμου ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστήσαντο αὐτῇ παρὰ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἐκείσε ὥμνον οἱ ἐφηβοὶ μέλλοντες ἐξίεναι εἰς πόλεμον.

⁹⁶ Suidas, s. v. Ἀρειος πάγος : - - - - Ἀρειος δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ φονικὰ δικάζει, ὃ δὲ Ἀρης ἐπὶ τῶν φόνων. ἡ ὅτι ἔπηξε τὸ δόρυ ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ποσειδῶνα ὑπὲρ Ἀλιβρόθιου δίκη, ὅτε ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν βιασάμενον Ἀλκίππην τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀγραύλου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς, ὥς φησιν Ἑλλάνικος ἐν α'.

⁹⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii, 825-832 :

Utque malum late solet inmedicabile cancer
Serpere, et illaesas vitiatas addere partes,
Sic letalis hiems paulatim in pectora venit
Vitalesque vias et respiramina clausit.
Non conata loqui est, nec, si conata fuisset,
Vocis habebat iter. Saxum iam colla tenebat,
Oraque duruerant, signumque exsangue sedebat.
Nec lapis albus erat : sua mens infecerat illam.

⁹⁸ Scholion in Sophoclis *Oedipum Coloneum*, 1053 :

- - - Εὐμόλπον γὰρ γενέσθαι Κήρυκα, τοῦ δὲ Εὐμόλπον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀντί-
φημον, τοῦ δὲ Μουσαῖον τὸν ποιητὴν, τοῦ δὲ Εὐμόλπον τὸν καταδείξαντα τὴν
μῦθον καὶ ἱεροφάντην γεγονότα.

⁹⁹ Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 34 :

*Ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κατέπλευσεν ἐδρᾶτο τὰ Πλυντήρια τῇ θεῷ. Δρῶσι δὲ τὰ
ὄργια Πραξιεργίδαι Θαρρηλιῶνος ἕκτη φθίνοντος ἀπόρρητα, τὸν τε κόσμον
καθελόντες καὶ τὸ ἔδος κατακαλύψαντες.

¹⁰⁰ Photius, *Lexicon*, s. v. Καλλυντήρια καὶ πλυντήρια :

ἐορτῶν ὀνόματα· γίνονται μὲν αὗται Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός, ἐνάτη μὲν ἐπὶ
δέκα καλλυντήρια, δευτέρα δὲ φθίνοντος τὰ πλυντήρια· τὰ μὲν πλυντήριά
φησι διὰ (τὸ μετὰ) τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραῦλος ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι
(τὰς ἱεράς) ἐσθῆτας, κτλ.

¹⁰¹ Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, i, 270 :

*Αγραυλος γὰρ ἱέρεια πρώτη γενομένη τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκόσμησε. Πλυντήρια
δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραῦλος ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ
πλυθῆναι τὰς ἱεράς ἐσθῆτας.

¹⁰² Xenophon, *Hell.*, i, 4, 12 :

κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρα ἣ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους
κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ
αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπου-
δαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἀν ἄψασθαι.

¹⁰³ C. I. A., ii, 469, ll. 4 - - - 9 f :

ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι . . . ἐξήγαγον δὲ κ[αὶ] τὴν Παλλάδα Φ[αληροῦ] κακείθεν
πάλιν συνει[σ]ήγαγον μετὰ [φ]ωτὸς [μετὰ πάσ]ης εὐκοσμίας.

¹⁰⁴ Suidas, iv, p. 1273, 7 :

οἱ δὲ νομοφύλακες . . . καὶ τῇ Παλλάδι τὴν πομπὴν ἐκόσμου, ὅτε κομίζοιτο τὸ ξόανον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

¹⁰⁵ Photius, Lexicon, s. v. Λουτρίδες :

δύο κόραι περὶ τὸ ἔδος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ αὗται καὶ πλυντρίδες· οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

¹⁰⁶ Hesychius, s. v. Πραξιεργίδαι :

οἱ τὸ ἔδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀμφιεννύντες.

¹⁰⁷ Etymologicum Magnum, p. 494, 25, s. v. κατανίπτῃς :

* Ἡ ἐπώνυμον τινός, ἣ ἱερωσύνη Ἀθήνησι, ὃ τὰ κάτω τοῦ πέπλου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ῥυπαινόμενα ἀποπλύνων.

¹⁰⁸ C. I. A., ii, 1369 :

Ἀγλαύρου ἱερεα Φειδοστράτη Ἐτεοκλέους Αἰθαλίδου θυγάτηρ.

¹⁰⁹ Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, 141 :

ἱερίαν Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, καθ' ὑπομνηματισμὸν τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ ἐπερώτημα τῆς βουλῆς τῶν φ' καὶ τοῦ δήμου, τὸ γένος τὸ Πραξιεργιδῶν Σαβεινιανὴν Ἀμιλλῶν (?), εὐσεβείας τῆς περὶ τὴν Θεὸν ἔνεκεν.

¹¹⁰ Hesychius, s. v. Ἑγητηρία :

παλάθη σύκων· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑορτῇ Πλυντηρίων φέρουσι παλάθην συγκειμένην ἐξ ἰσχάδων διὰ τὸ τοὺς αὐτόχθονας ἡμέρον καρπὸν φαγεῖν πρῶτον τῶν σύκων.

¹¹¹ Herodotus, viii, 53 :

ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καὶ τοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου.

¹¹² Polyaeus, i, 21, 2 :

οἱ ἐπίκουροι προελθόντες ἀράμενοι τὰ ὄπλα κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου.

¹¹³ Plutarch, Alcibiades, 15 :

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεβούλευεν ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀγραύλου προβαλλόμενον αἰετοῖς ἐφύβοις ὄρκον ἔργῳ βεβαιοῦν. Ὁμνίουσι γὰρ ὄροις χρήσασθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς πυροῖς, κριθαῖς, ἀμπέλαις, ἐλαίαις, οἰκείαν ποιέσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἡμέρον καὶ καρποφόρον.

¹¹⁴ Demosthenes, xix, 303 :

τίς ὁ τοὺς μακροὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους δημηγορῶν, καὶ τὸ Μελτιάδου καὶ τὸ Θεμιστοκλέους ψήφισμα ἀναγινώσκων καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφύβων ὄρκον ;

¹¹⁵ Lycurgus, contra Leocratem, 76 :

ὑμῖν γὰρ ἔστιν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμνύουσι πάντες οἱ πολῖται, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ ληξί-
αρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ ἔφηβοι γένωνται, μήτε τὰ ἱερὰ ὄπλα
καταισχυνεῖν μήτε τὴν τάξιν λείψειν, ἀμυνεῖν δὲ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἀμείνω παρα-
δώσειν.

¹¹⁶ Scholion in Aristophanis Thesmophoriazusas, 533 :

κατὰ τῆς Ἀγρᾶλου ὤμνον· κατὰ δὲ τῆς Πανδρόσου σπανιώτερον.
κατὰ δὲ τῆς Ἑρσῆς οὐχ εὐρήκαμεν.

¹¹⁷ Hesychius, s. v. Ἄγλαυρος :

θυγάτηρ Κέκροπος. παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς καὶ ὁμνύουσιν κατ' αὐτῆς. ἥν δὲ
ἰέρεια τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

¹¹⁸ Pollux, viii, 105-106 :

καὶ ὤμνον (οἱ ἔφηβοι) ἐν Ἀγρᾶλου· οὐ καταισχυνῶ τὰ ὄπλα, οὐδ'
ἐγκαταλείψω τὸν παραστάτην, ᾧ ἂν στοιχῶ, ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ
ὁσίων καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα οὐκ ἐλάττω παρα-
δώσω, πλεύσω δὲ καὶ καταρώσω, ὁπόσῃν ἂν παραδέξωμαι· καὶ συνήσω τῶν
αἰὲ κρινόντων, καὶ τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἰδρυμένοις πείσομαι, καὶ οὓς τινὰς
ἄλλους ἰδρύσεται τὸ πλῆθος ἐμφρόνως· καὶ ἂν τις ἀναιρῇ τοὺς θεσμούς· ἢ
μὴ πείθεται, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω, ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πάντων· καὶ τὰ
ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια τιμῶ. ἱστορες θεοί, Ἀγρᾶλος, Ἐννάλιος, Ἄρης, Ζεὺς,
Θαλλώ, Αὐξώ, Ἠγεμόνη.

¹¹⁹ Pausanias, i, 27, 3 :

Παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ
Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους· αὐταὶ χρόνον μὲν τίνα δίαίταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ
θεῷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιάδε· ἀναθεῖσάι σφισιν
ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἢ ἢ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἢ διδοῦσα ὁποῖόν
τι δίδωσιν εἰδυῖα, οὔτε ταῖς φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις. Ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν
τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ
κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος αὐτομάτη· ταύτῃ κατὰσιν αἱ παρθένοι· κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ
φερόμενα λείπουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον. Καὶ
τὰς μὲν ἀφίαισιν ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ἐτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους
ἄγουσιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν.

¹²⁰ C. I. A., ii, 1379 :

[Ἀ]θη[νᾶ] Ἀπο[λ]λ[ω]ν[ιος] - - - Ἀ[φ]ιδναῖο[ς] τὴν θ[υ]γατέρα
Ἀ[ν]θεμ[ί]αν κ[αὶ] ὁ θεῖος Οὐλί[α]δης καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Φιλω[τέρα]
ἐ[ρ]ρή[τη] φορήσασα[ν] ἀ[ν]έθηκαν.

¹²¹ C. I. A., ii, 1383 :

Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ [Πα]νδρόσῳ - - - ος Διονυσικλέους Τρινεμεῖς [τῇ]ν
θυγατέρα Φίλαν ἀνέθηκεν ἐρῶν φορήσασαν.

¹²² C. I. A., ii, 1385 :

Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀγίας Νικάρχου Εὐωνυμεῖς τὴν θυγατέρα Ξενοστράτην ἐρῶν φο-
ροῦσαν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Δημ[η]τρία Βούλωνος Παιανιέω[ς] θυγάτηρ καὶ οἱ
ἀδελφοὶ Ἀ[ρ]κετος Ἐπικράτης Βούλων Ξενοφῶν ἀνέθηκαν.

¹²³ C. I. A., ii, 1390 :

Παναρίσταν Μαντίου Μαραθωνί[ου ὁ πατήρ]
καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Θεοδότῃ Δωσιθέου ἐ[γ] Μυρινούττης]
θυγάτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Κλεομέν[ης καὶ - - -]
ἐ[ξ] ἐρῶν φορήσασαν Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιά[δι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ]
ἀνέθηκαν.

¹²⁴ C. I. A., iii, 887 :

. . . [τὴν ἑαυτῶν] θυγατέρα Να[υ]σιστράτην ἐ[ξ] ἐρῶν φορήσασαν Ἀθηνᾶ]
Πολιάδι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ [φ ἀνέθηκαν ἐ]πὶ ἱερῆς Καλλιστ[οῦς].

¹²⁵ Hesychius, s. v. Ἐρῶν φόροι :

οἱ τῇ Ἔρσῃ ἐπιτελοῦντες τὰ νομιζόμενα.

¹²⁶ Moeris, s. v. Ἐρρηφόροι :

Ἀττικῶς, αἱ τὴν δρόσον φέρουσαι τῇ Ἔρσῃ, ἣτις ἦν μία τῶν Κεκροπίδων.

¹²⁷ C. I. A., iii, 902 :

Ἐρρηφόρον πατήρ με, πότνα, σ[οί, θεά,]
Σαραπίων μήτηρ τ' ἔθικ[ε X]ρη[σίμη]
τὴν σὴν, Θεαν[ώ]. πέντε καὶ [συναίμονες.]
δὸς δ' οἷς μὲν ἦβην, οἷς δ[ὲ] γηράσκειν καλῶς]

¹²⁸ C. I. A., ii, 453 b. (p. 418) :

13. ἐπ[ὶ] ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατ[έρα - - - - - εἰς τὰ]
Ἐπιδαύρια ἀρῶν φεροῦσαν βουλό[μενος - - - - - τὰς]
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμὰς, κτλ.

¹²⁹ C. I. A., iii, 822 a. (p. 505) :

Ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τῶν φ' Τελέτῃ Γλαύκου Κηφεισιεύς θυ[γάτηρ],
ἀρρηφορήσασα, τὸν ἑαυτῆς υ[ι]ὸν Γλαῦκον Μ[έ]μνονο[ς Ἀν]αφλύστιον,
αἰτησαμένη[νου το]ῦ ἀνδρὸς Κλ[αυδίου] Ἀττι[κοῦ]

¹³⁰ Scholion in Aristophanis Lysistratam, 642 :

ἡρρηφόρου : Οἱ μὲν διὰ τοῦ α, ἀρρηφορία, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐν κίσταις

ἔφερον τῇ θεῷ αἱ παρθένοι. οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ε ἔρσεφορία. τῇ γὰρ Ἑρση πομπεύουσι, τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἰστρος.

¹³¹ Suidas, 320, s. v. Ἀρρήφορία :

θυσία. εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἄλφα, Ἀρρήφορία· ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐν κίσταις ἔφερον τῇ Θεῷ αἱ παρθένοι· εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ε, Ἑρσεφορία· τῇ γὰρ Ἑρση ἐπόμπευον τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ. Καὶ Ἀρρήφόροις, καὶ Ἀρρήφόροι, αἱ τὰ ἄρρητα φέρουσαι μυστήρια. Ἀρρήφόροι καὶ παναγεῖς γυναικες.

¹³² Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 640-3 :

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εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ χλιδῶσαν ἀγλαῶς ἔθρεψέ με.
ἐπτα μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθύς ἡρρηφόρουν·
εἴτ' ἄλετρις ἦ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι·
καὶ τ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίους.

¹³³ Harpocration, s. v. ἄρρηφορεῖν :

Δεῖναρχος κατὰ Πυθέου, τέσσαρες μὲν ἐχειροτονοῦντο δι' εὐγένειαν ἄρρηφόροι, δύο δὲ ἐκρίνοντο, αἱ τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ πέπλου ἥρχον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. λευκὴν δ' ἐσθήτα ἐφόρουν. εἰ δὲ χρυσία περιέθεντο, ἱερὰ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο.

¹³⁴ Hesychius, s. v. Ἀρρήφορία :

ἐκατέρως λέγουσιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς. καὶ μὲν διὰ τοῦ ε ἔρρηφορία, διὰ τὸ τῆς Ἑρσης ἐγκατελιῆσθαι τὴν πομπήν· ἐὰν δὲ διὰ τοῦ α, ἐπεὶ ἐπ' ἄρρήτοις συνέστη.

¹³⁵ Suidas, 319, s. v., Ἀρρήνοφορεῖν (Ἀρρήφορεῖν) :

τέσσαρες μὲν ἐχειροτονοῦντο τῶν εὐγενῶν, δύο δὲ ἐκρίνοντο, αἱ τινες ἥρχον τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ πέπλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτήν. λευκὴν δὲ ἐσθήτα ἐφόρουν. εἰ δὲ χρυσία περιέθεντο, ἱερὰ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο.

¹³⁶ Suidas, 823, s. v. ἐπιώψατο :

κατέλεξεν, ἐξελέξατο. ἔστι δ' Ἀττικόν. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιώψατο ἄρρηφόρους. οἶον, κατέλεξεν, ἐξελέξατο. Πλάτων ἐν Νόμοις.

¹³⁷ *Etymologicum Magnum*, 149, 13, s. v. Ἀρρηφόροι καὶ Ἀρρηφορία :

Ἑορτὴ ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐν Σκιρροφοριῶνι μηνί. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ε, ἔρρηφορία. Παρὰ τὸ ἄρρητα καὶ μυστήρια φέρειν. Ἡ ἐὰν διὰ τοῦ Ε, παρὰ τὴν Ἑρσην* τὴν Κέκροπος θυγατέρα, ἔρσηφορία. Ταύτῃ γὰρ ἦγον τὴν ἑορτήν.

[* Mss. Ἑρσιν.]

¹³⁸ Etymologicum Magnum, p. 149, 18, s. v. Ἀρρήφορεῖν :

Τὸ χρυσὴν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, καὶ χρυσία· τέσσαρες δὲ παῖδες ἐχειροτονοῦντο κατ' εὐγένειαν ἀρρηφόροι ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ μέχρις ἑνδεκα. Τούτων δὲ δύο διεκρίνοντο, οἱ διὰ τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πέπλου ἤρχοντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. Λευκὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἐφόρουν καὶ χρυσία.

¹³⁹ Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, i, 446, s. v. Ἀρρηφορεῖν :

τέσσαρες μὲν ἐχειροτονοῦντο τῶν εὐγενῶν, δύο δ' ἐκρίνοντο, αἱ τινες ἤρχον τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ πέπλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτήν. λευκὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἐφόρουν. εἰ δὲ χρυσία περιέθεντο, ἱερὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο.

¹⁴⁰ Pollux, x, 191 :

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑλὲν πλεκτὸν ἀγγεῖον σπάρτινον, τὰ χεῖλη οἰσύνον, ἐν ᾧ φέρουσιν ἱερὰ ἄρρητα τοῖς Ἑλενηφορίοις. εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν, ἔστι μὲν ὑφάσματα, καλεῖται δὲ ἱστριανόν, προτόνιον, ἡμίμυτρον. ποδώνυχον ἢ ἐσθῆς τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Πανδρόσου.

¹⁴¹ Athenaeus, iii, 80, p. 114, a :

Κράτης δ' ἐν β' Ἀττικῆς Διαλέκτου, θάργηλον καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκομιδῆς πρῶτον γινόμενον ἄρτον—καὶ τὸν ΣΗΣΑΜΙΤΗΝ. οὐχ' εἴωρακε δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΟΝ καλούμενον, ὅς ταῖς ἀρρηφόροις γίνεται.

¹⁴² C. I. A., i, 430 :

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ : ΕΡΣΟ :

Ἀπόλλωνος Ἔρσου

¹⁴³ Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 140, ff :

τόσον περ εὐφρων, καλά,
δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων,
πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις
θηρῶν ὀβρικάλοισι τερπνά, κτλ.

¹⁴⁴ Etymologicum Magnum, p. 377, 38, s. v. Ἔρσαι :

Αἰ ἐν ἔαρι γεννηθεῖσαι· ἢ αἰ ἀπαλαὶ καὶ τελείως νέαι, μεταφορικῶς, ὡς Ἀριστόνικος ἐν Σημείοις. Ἔρση γάρ ἐστιν ἡ δρόσος. Καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι (v. 141) τοὺς σκύμνους τῶν λεόντων δρόσους κέκληκε, μεταφράζων τοῦτο. - -

¹⁴⁵ Scholiast on Lucian, Dialogi Meretricii, II, 1 :

θεσμοφóρια ἐορτὴ Ἑλληνῶν μυστήρια περιέχουσα, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ σκιρροφóρια καλεῖται. ἤγετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν μυθωδέστερον λόγον, ὅτι, <ὅτε>

ἀνθολογοῦσα ἡρπάζετο ἡ Κόρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, τότε κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον Εὐβουλεύς τις συμβώτης ἔνεμεν ὧς καὶ συγκατεπόθησαν τῷ χάσματι τῆς Κόρης· εἰς οὖν τιμὴν τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ῥιπτεῖσθαι τοὺς χοίρους εἰς τὰ χάσματα τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης. τὰ δὲ σαπέντα τῶν ἐμβληθέντων εἰς τὰ μέγαρα κάτω ἀναφέρουσιν ἀντλήτριαι καλούμεναι γυναῖκες καθαρεύσασαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰ ἄδυστα καὶ ἀνενέγκασαι ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν· ὧν νομίζουσι τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ τῷ σπόρῳ συγκαταβάλλοντα εὐφορίαν ἔξειν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ δράκοντας κάτω εἶναι περὶ τὰ χάσματα, οὓς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν βληθέντων κατεσθλύνει· διὸ καὶ κρότον γίνεσθαι, ὁπότεν ἀντλῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ὅταν ἀποτιθῶνται πάλιν τὰ πλάσματα ἐκεῖνα, ἵνα ἀναχωρήσωσιν οἱ δράκοντες, οὓς νομίζουσι φρουροὺς τῶν ἀδύτων. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἄρρητοφόρια καλεῖται καὶ ἄγεται τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχοντα περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σποράς. ἀναφέρονται δὲ κἀνταῦθα ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ἐκ στέατος τοῦ σίτου κατεσκευασμένα, μιμήματα δρακόντων καὶ ἀνδρείων σχημάτων. λαμβάνουσι δὲ κώνου θαλλοὺς διὰ τὸ πολύγονον τοῦ φυτοῦ. ἐμβάλλονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ μέγαρα οὕτως καλούμενα ἄδυστα ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ χοῖροι, ὡς ἤδη ἔφαμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ πολύτοκον εἰς σύνθημα τῆς γενέσεως τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἷον χαριστήρια τῇ Δήμητρι, ἐπεὶ δὴ τοὺς Δημητρίους καρποὺς παρέχουσα ἐποίησεν ἡμερον τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄνω τῆς ἐορτῆς λόγος ὁ μυθικός, ὁ δὲ προκείμενος φυσικός. Θεσμοφόρια δὲ καλεῖται, καθότι θεσμοφόρος ἡ Δημήτηρ κατονομάζεται τιθεῖσα νόμους ἥτοι θεσμούς, καθ' οὓς τὴν τροφὴν πορίζεσθαί τε καὶ κατεργάζεσθαι ἀνθρώπους δέον.

¹⁴⁶ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus*, ii, 17 :

Ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες ποικίλως κατὰ πόλιν ἐορτάζουσιν, Θεσμοφόρια, Σκιροφόρια, Ἀρρηφόρια, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερρεφάττης ἐκτραγῶδοῦσαι ἀρπαγὴν.

¹⁴⁷ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, xxviii, 77 and 78 :

Post haec nullus est modus. iam primum abigi grandines turbinesque contra fulgura ipsa mense nudato ; sic averti violentiam caeli, in navigando quidem tempestates etiam sine menstruis. ex ipsis vero mensibus, monstificis alias, ut suo loco indicavimus, dira et infanda vaticinantur, e quibus dixisse non pudeat, si in defectus lunae solisque congruat vis illa, inremediabilem fieri, non segnius et in silente luna, coitusque tum maribus

exitiales esse atque pestiferos, purpuram quoque eo tempore ab iis pollui; tanto vim esse maiorem. quocumque autem alio menstruo si nudatae segetem ambient, urucas et vermiculos scarabaeosque ac noxia alia decidere Metrodorus Scepsius in Cappadocia inventum prodit ob multitudinem cantharidum, ire ergo per media arva relectis super clunes vestibus. alibi servatur, ut nudis pedibus eant capillo cinctuque dissoluto.

¹⁴⁸ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, xvii, 266 :

Multi et has et talpas amurcas necant, contraque urucas et, ne mala putrescant, lacerti viridis felle tangi cacumina iubent, privatim autem contra urucas ambiri arbores singulas a muliere incitati mensis, nudis pedibus, recincta.

¹⁴⁹ Aelian, de *Natura Animalium*, vi, 36 :

Αἱ κάμπαι (caterpillars) ἐπινέμονται τὰ λάχανα, τάχα δὲ καὶ διαφθείρονσιν αὐτά. ἀπόλλυνται δὲ αὐται, γυνὴ τὴν ἐπιμήνιον κάθαρσιν καθαιρομένη εἰ διέλθοι μέση τῶν λαχάνων.

¹⁵⁰ Columella, de *Cultu Hortorum*, x, 357-362 :

At si nulla valet medicina repellere pestem,
Dardaniae veniant artes, nudataque plantas
Femina, quae iustis tum demum operata iuventae
Legibus, obscaeno manat pudibunda cruore,
Sed resoluta sinus, resoluto maesta capillo,
Ter circum areolas, et saepem ducitur horti.

Columella, xi, 3, 64 :

Sed Democritus in eo libro, qui Graece inscribitur *περὶ ἀντιπαθῶν*, affirmat, has ipsas bestiolas enecari, si mulier, quae in menstruis est, solutis crinibus et nudo pede unamquamque aream ter circumbeat : post hoc enim decidere omnes vermiculos, et ita emori.

¹⁵¹ Palladius, de *re rustica*, i, 35, 3 :

Aliqui mulierem menstruantem, nusquam cinctam, solutis capillis, nudis pedibus contra erucas et cetera hortum faciunt circumire.

¹⁵² Pausanias, i, 27, 1 :

Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον.

¹⁵³ Harpocr. s. v. ἐπίβοιον :

Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρῳ φησὶν οὕτως· Ἐὰν δέ τις τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ θύῃ βούν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τῇ Πανδώρα (Bekk. Πανδρόσῳ) θύειν οἶν (μετὰ βοός), καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ θῦμα ἐπίβοιον.

¹⁵⁴ Photius and Suidas, s. v. προτόνιον :

ἱματίδιον ὃ ἡ ἱέρεια ἀμφιέννυνται· ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερείας τῷ σφάττοντι· προτόνιον δὲ ἐκλήθη, ὅτι πρώτη Πάνδροσος (var. read. Πανδώρα) μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατεσκευάσατο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων ἐσθῆτα.

Hesychius, s. v. προτόνιον :

ὑφασμα, also a gloss between προγονεῦσαι and πρόγονοι says : προγωνίαν· τῶν ἡπορημένων ἢ λέξεις. ἔστι δὲ ὑφασμάτιον ποικίλον, ὃ ἐπὶ καλυψάμενος ὁ μάγειρος θύει, ὡς ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

¹⁵⁵ C. I. A., i, 322, l. 45 :

τῶν κίωνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου. cf. also ll. 63 and 70.

¹⁵⁶ C. I. A., iv, i p. 151 :

ἐπὶ τὸ [μ πρ]ὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου αἰετόν.

¹⁵⁷ Dionysius Halicarnassensis, de Dinarcho 3 ; Philochorus, fr. 146 :

Κύνων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὼν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ δύο εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσειον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβάσα τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο. πάτριον δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, κύνα μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν.

¹⁵⁸ Pausanias, i, 27, 3 :

Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχῆς ἐστὶ· καὶ ἔστι Πάνδροσος ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀνάτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνη.

¹⁵⁹ C. I. A., ii, 481 :

ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ Συλλεῖ[α] κ[αὶ] ἐκαλλιέρησαν, ὁμ[οίως δὲ κα]ὶ τὰ ἐξιτητήρια ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Κουρ[οτρό]φῳ καὶ τῇ Πανδρόσ[φ κα]ὶ ἐκαλλιέρησαν.

¹⁶⁰ Scholion in Aristophanis Lysistratam 439 :

ἐκ τῆς Πανδρόσου δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾷ Πάνδροσος καλεῖται.

¹⁶¹ Pausanias, ix, 35, 2 :

Τιμῶσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Χάριτας Αὐξῶ καὶ Ἠγεμόνην. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Καρπούς ἐστὶν οὐ Χάριτος ἀλλὰ Ὀφρας ὄνομα· τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν

Ὁρῶν νέμουσιν ὁμοῦ τῇ Πανδρόσῳ τιμὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ὡλλὼ τὴν θεὸν ὀνομάζοντες.

¹⁶² [Plutarch], *Decem Oratorum Vitae*, p. 839 b. (Isocrates.) :
ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦς ἐν τῇ σφαιρίστρᾳ τῶν Ἀρρηφόρων
κελητίζων ἔτι παῖς ὢν, ὥς εἰπὸν τινες.

¹⁶³ Apollodorus, iii, 14, 1 :
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα
μάρτυρα ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν, ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσεΐῳ δείκνυται.

¹⁶⁴ Ovid, *Metamor.*, ii, 737-39 :

Pars secreta domus ebore et testudine cultos
Tres habuit thalamos, quorum tu, Pandrose, dextrum,
Aglaurus laevum, medium possederat Herse.

¹⁶⁵ Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*, 659 b :

δροσοβολεῖ γὰρ ταῖς πανσελήνοις μάλιστα διατηκόμενος, ὥς που κα
Ἀλκμὰν ὁ μελοποιὸς αἰνιττόμενος τὴν δρόσον ἀέρος θυγατέρα καὶ σελήνης.
'οἶα (φησί) Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ δίας σελάνας.'

οὕτω πανταχόθεν μαρτυρεῖται τὸ τῆς σελήνης φῶς ἄγαν ὑγραντικὴν ἔχον
καὶ μαλακτικὴν δύναμιν.

¹⁶⁶ Suidas, s. v. Κουροτρόφος Γῆ :

ταύτῃ δὲ θύσαι φασὶ τὸ πρῶτον Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει, καὶ βωμὸν
ιδρύσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδιδόντα τῇ Γῇ τῶν τροφείων.

¹⁶⁷ Hesychius, s. v. Ἀγλανυρίδες :

Μοῖραι (MS. μύραι) παρ' Ἀθηναίοις.

¹⁶⁸ Hesychius, s. v. Πλυντήρια :

ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγραύλῳ τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς τιμῇ
ἄγουσιν.

¹⁶⁹ Photius, *Lexicon*, s. v. Παναθήναια :

Ἀθήνησιν ἐορτὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ Θησεῶς γενομένῳ συνοικισμῷ, πρὸ τοῦ
Ἐριχθονίου τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Γῆς.

¹⁷⁰ Suidas, s. v. χαλκεῖα :

ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησι, αἵτινες Ἀθήναια καλοῦσιν . . . ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ μόνων
ἤγετο τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅτι ὁ Ἡφαιστος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ χαλκὸν εἰργάσατο.
ἔστι δὲ ἐνῇ καὶ νέα τοῦ Πυανασιῶνος· ἐν ἣ καὶ ἱέρεται μετὰ τῶν ἀρρηφόρων

τὸν πέπλον διάζονται Φανόδημος δέ φησιν οὐκ Ἀθηνᾶ ἄγεσθαι τὴν
 ἐορτήν, ἀλλ' Ἑφαίστῳ.

¹⁷¹ Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, i, 239 :

δειπνοφορία γάρ ἐστι τὸ φέρειν δεῖπνα ταῖς Κέκροπος θυγατράσιν Ἑρση
 καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ. ἐφέρετο δὲ πολυτελῶς κατὰ τινα μυστικὸν
 λόγον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐποιοῦν οἱ πολλοί· φιλοτιμίας γὰρ εἶχετο.

Fig. 1

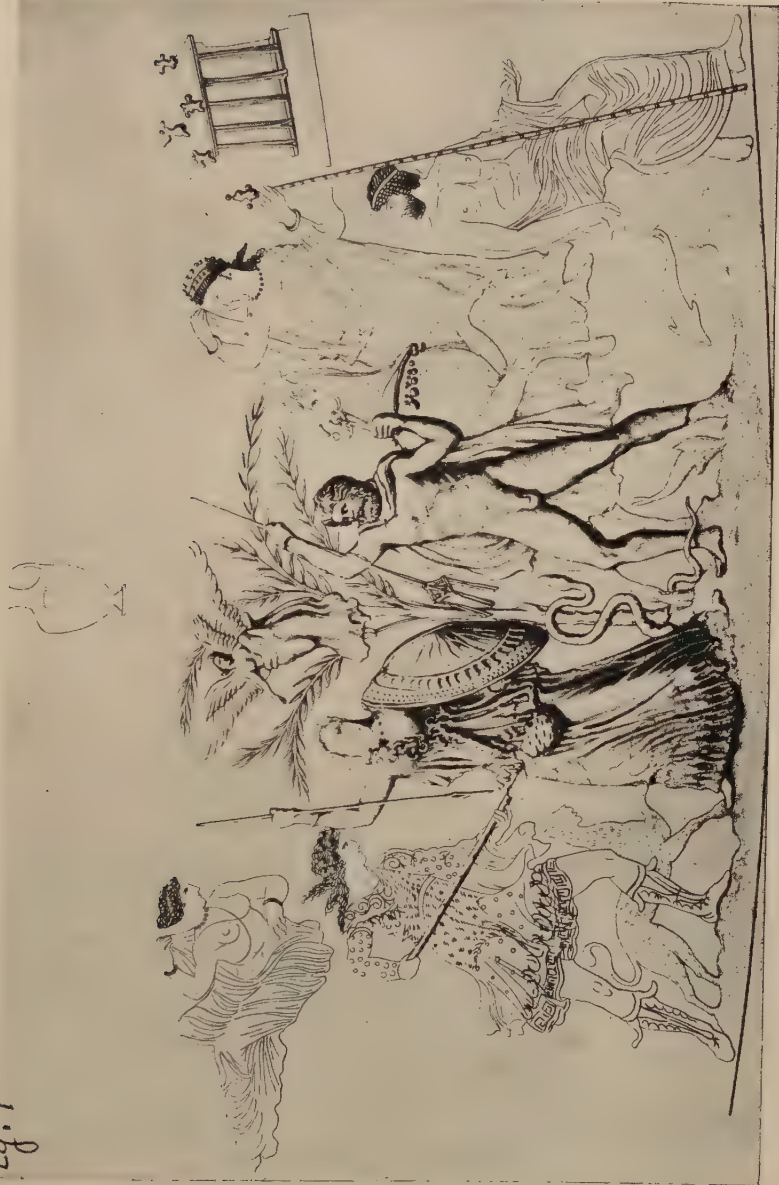


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

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FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.



Athena überrascht die Kyklopen bei der Öffnung der Erichthoniskiste. Vasen des 6. u. 5. Jhs. 1874 Taf. 1099 V.

FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.



FIG. II.



FIG. 12.

THE Cornell Studies in Classical Philology

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